1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

PREFACE

114

UNDER THE AUSPICES of the Institute of Social Sciences of the University of California, Snr. Curt Nimuendajú, of Belém do Pará, has been for several years investigating various little-known groups of the interior of Brazil, some of which he had previously visited. A number of brief reports have been published to keep ethnologists informed as to some discoveries of major import, and a longer treatise entitled The Apinayé, that is, Western Timbira, has been printed (see Bibliography) under the joint editorship of Dr. John M. Cooper and the translator. Another monograph, on the Šerénte, was published more recently in the series financed by the Frederick Webb Hodge Anniversary Publication Fund. The monograph herewith presented describes primarily the Ramkõ'kamekra, but the author has given such ample data on the history and ethnography of all related tribes known that the title Eastern Timbira seems fully warranted. In the translator's judgment this work represents one of the outstanding achievements among studies of South American Indians.

ROBERT H. LOWIE

December 2, 1941

[p. iv is omitted]

I. GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

Habitat

101 131 The Timbira habitat extends from 3° to 9° S. latitude and from 42° to 49° W. longitude—through the northeastern part of the Central Brazilian steppe area, where that area adjoins the southeastern tip of the Amazon rain forests. The tropical forest extends back of the coastal steppe strip liable to inundation, beginning at a point on the Tocantins somewhat above the Araguaya confluence, and includes the entire Gurupy basin, the middle and lower Pindaré, the lower Grajahú, and the lower Mearim. Its domain comprises the present habitat of the following Timbira tribes: the Western Gaviões; the Krẽyé of Cajuapára; the Krẽyé and Kukóekamekra of Bacabal.*

134 137 133 But by far the greatest part of Timbira territory is covered by high steppes and dry forest; tall timber occurs only in the form of *galeria* forests along the brooks and rivers, also at times on the slopes of the so-called mountains (*serras*), at the foot of which these watercourses usually develop from many minor springs. These inextensive wooded tracts are of great economic significance for the steppe Indian, since they offer the only soil suitable for his primitive husbandry.

The *galeria* forest further provides not only the material for housebuilding, but also the extremely important burity palm (*Mauritia flexuosa*), the leaves of which furnish the main material for basketry while its fruits are edible and its trunks are made into logs carried in relay races. Further, there are the oleaginous babassu palm (*Orbignia speciosa*); the sororóca (*Heliconia* sp.) with its gigantic leaves, indispensable in Indian cookery; and many other useful plants.

The predominant part of the Timbira steppes consists of *campos cerrados*, that is, grass tracts with more or less dense stands of trees and bushes. Absolutely pure steppes I have seen only in the upper Pindaré country, and even these were only of minor extent. The two Timbira tribes of that region—Krĩkatí and Pụkóbye—[101] are accordingly called by the other members of their branch Popéykateye (inhabitants of true [or beautiful], pey, steppes, põ).

The prevailing grass species is Capim agreste (*Pannascum* sp.). Noteworthy among the trees are the sucupira (*Cassiea* sp.), which symbolizes for the Timbira the power of resistance; the sambahyba (*Couratella* sp.), whose rough leaves serve to polish wood; the pau de leite (*Sapium* sp.), whose latex when mixed with powdered charcoal forms the favorite pigment; the tucum palm (*Astrocaryum* sp.), important for its fibers; the almecegueira (*Protium* sp.) with an odorous rosin much used in decorative outfits; finally, the fruit-bearing piquy (*Caryocar* sp.), bacury (*Platonia* sp.), and the mangabeira (*Hancornia* sp.).

[134] 133 The soil is mostly sandy, more rarely clayey, and still more rarely rocky. The northern Timbira country is rather flat, rising only quite imperceptibly southward. Even the most recent maps (Stieler, 1928) crowd the southern half with mountain [114] chains—to the grave disappointment of an observer on the spot, who finds simply mesas and small plateaus with steep slopes, sporadic residual phenomena, mostly

104 * In the rendering of the aboriginal terms with which the monograph bristles it seemed best to adhere to the orthography established for The Apinayé, a slight simplification of that chosen by Nimuendajú himself. A tilde over vowels indicates nasalization; a short hook below a vowel designates it as postpalatal. The latter symbol is necessary, because it defines a phonemic difference. The following values hold for symbols requiring explanation:

ẽ = first German e in Ebe	ã = half vocalic ng	j = French j
õ = German o in ohne	š = English sh	x = German ch in ach
ö, ü = as in German	č = Spanish ch	' = glottal stop

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS
Ge SLS

GT 101

Classification of Timbira Tribes: Timbira and Gê-Cran

The ethnic individuality, homogeneity, and Gê affinities of the Timbira are too manifest to have been challenged by any serious observer. Opinions diverge solely as to their position within the Gê family; as to what tribes should be added to their branch of the Gê; and with respect to possible subdivisions.

GT 101 197

In this monograph I embrace under the caption Timbira the fifteen tribes listed below; in each case the allocation rests either on available samples of the language or on some competent investigator's statement that the speech in question is to be equated with that of a linguistically documented member of the branch. Although terminologically the classification follows the cardinal directions, the actual criterion is purely linguistic, there being a remarkably close correlation of geographical distribution with linguistic relationship. Dialectically, then, I offer the following classification:

Eastern Timbira

Northern group:
1. Timbira of Araparytiua (Gurupy)
2. Krẽyé of Bacabal
3. Kukóekamekra of Bacabal

Southern group:
4. Krẽyé of Cajuapára
5. Krîkatí
6. Pụkóbye
7. Western or Forest Gaviões (?)
8. Kre'pụ'mkateye
9. Krahõ'
10. Põrekamekra (?)
11. Kénkateye
12. Apạ'nyekra
13. Rạmkõ'kamekra
14. Čạ'kamekra

Western Timbira

15. Apinayé

In my opinion the nearest relatives of the Timbira are the several subdivisions of the Northern Kayapó; further, the Southern Kayapó and the Suyá. These four groups I should unite under the category of Northwestern Gê. I separate from them however the Gogué-Akroá, whom I class as Central Gê (a term that includes the Šerénte-Šavánte and the Šakriabá). The Jaicó are likewise distinct from the Timbira, but I am unable to assign these Gê to any definite branch within the stock. As for the Southern and Eastern Gê, this is not the appropriate place to discuss them, and I also purposely refrain from characterizing tribes as Gê on ethnographic grounds since the concept is primarily a linguistic one.

GT 114 101 197

Let me now scrutinize the way in which other authors have defined the Timbira.

Critique of Ribeiro.—The oldest chronicler of the Timbira is the previously mentioned Francisco de Paula Ribeiro. From 1800 until his assassination in 1823 he served as an officer along the Timbira frontier and, as commandant of Pastos Bons, had to go to war against these Indians four times. In his Memoria sobre as Nações Gentias (1819) he distinguishes two "dialects" in Maranhão—Timbira and Gamella. To the speech of the several Timbira "nations" he ascribes merely "aquella differença trivial que a distancia de umas e outras povoações de mesma raça lhes permitte." He devotes separate chapters to the following Timbira tribes: (1) Timbira of the lower Mearim (= Krẽyé and Kukóekamekra); (2) Sacamekrans (= Čạ'kamekra); (3) Capiekrans (= Rạmõ'kamekra); (4) Piócobgêz (= Pụkóbye); (5) Purecamekrans (= Põrekamekra); (6) Macamekrans (= Krahõ').

Incidentally, he further mentions the Canaquetgêz (= Karẽkateye?); Norocoagêz (= Nyurukwayé); Poncatgêz (= Põkateye); Ponecra (= Apạ'nyekra); Augutgêz (= ?); and the Apinagêz. As for the Bu, of whom he had heard in 1800, he conjectures that they either had never existed or had been exterminated by other tribes.

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira
Ge SLS

for bast in the northern lingua geral, serve the purpose since it leaves the initial T unaccounted for.

I, too, assume a reference to the bands these people wear—not only on their arms and feet, but also below the knee, on the wrists, around the neck, the chest, and the forehead. However, the name is not derived from imbira, bast, but is a compound of tĩ, to bind, and pį'ra, passive, with the initial "p" of the second element transmuted into "mb" because of the preceding nasal vowel. Thus, the term Timbira would correspond to "the bound ones,"—but only on the assumption that the tribal name is of Tupí origin, which cannot be treated as a priori certain.

Cran or rather kra does mean "son," but also "tribe" or "people." For example; ampó kra ma ka, Of what tribe are you? i pe Apą'nyekra, I am of the Piranha tribe. However, in the formation of tribal names this kra is commonly preceded by the particle kame, of which me- precedes only nouns referring to human beings, while I am not very clear as to the manifold uses of ka.

Gêz is the rather infelicitous Portuguese rendering of the suffix ye (Apinayé ya) in Timbira speech. It terminates only designations of kinship, social functions, and tribal names of the Timbira. In the two latter instances it is generally, though not invariably, preceded by kate. This suffix designates the person owning the thing expressed by the noun. Frequently the meaning becomes locative.

In other words, whether a tribal name ends in -kra or -ye depends solely on the meaning of the substantive used. The -ye tribes cannot be separated from the -kra tribes, nor can either group be legitimately made to descend from the other. Ribeiro remained quite free from this error. Actually, the Timbira of Cajuapára are called indiscriminately Pihą'kamekra or Krẽyé; while the Krahõ'. are subdivided into the Mąkamekra (mą, ostrich; ostrich people) and Kenpókateye (kenpo, flat rock; people of the flat rock).

Martius is equally in error in deriving certain kra names from ye equivalents. The names Piocabgêz and Piocamecrans are unrelated: the former is derived from pųkób, yam (*Dioscorea* sp.), the latter from pihą', weaverbird (*Cassicus* sp.). Similarly, the term Poncatagêz is traceable to põ (steppe), Ponicrans to apą'n (piranha [*Serrasalmo* sp.]). The illegitimacy of Martius' criteria for assuming a Bûs subdivision has been set forth elsewhere.[39]

Finally, the settlers' division of the branch into Timbira da Matta, Timbira de Canella fina, and Timbira de Bocca furada obviously cannot be taken seriously for ethnological purposes. Martius himself, in volume 1 of his Beiträge, puts the Aponegicrans (= Apą'nyekra) into the first of these groups, while in his second volume they figure as Timbira de Canella fina. Of the contemporary Gaviões, one group lives in the Amazon forests, the other on the steppe.

The discovery of the Gê stock in a wider sense is exclusively Martius' merit since he owed nothing to any predecessor. But his subdivision into Gêz proper, Crans, and Bûs rests on unacceptable principles.

Critique of Von den Steinen and Ehrenreich.—In 1886 Karl von den Steinen studied Gê languages, which he grouped together with the Botocudo and Goytacá to form the Tapuya family. In this examination he considered only tribes for which linguistic material was then available. His subgroup of Western and Northern Gê embraces the Suyá, Apinayé, Apą'nyekra, the [Southern] Kayapó, and the Krahõ'. He further adds the Karayá, an allocation unconfirmed by any of his successors. His Central Gê comprise the Šavánte, Šerénte, Šakriaba, and Akroá; he does not so much as mention the Jaicó. Except for the allocation of the Karayá, Von den Stei-

[39] Nimuendajú, The Gamella Indians, 5 f.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS
Ge SL5

G
T
114
197
101

nen's grouping of the two western subdivisions of the Gê stock forms an excellent basis for further elaboration."

Ehrenreich, who subsequently himself collected better material from the Karayá, excluded them from the Gê stock and provided the following scheme for the Western group."

Akroá
  Akroá
  Jaiko
  Gogues
Kayapó or Bu
  Southern Kayapó
  Northern Kayapó
    Ukikrin
    Kradaho
    Gaviões or Karakati
Northern Kayapó (continued)
    Apinayé
    Karaho
    Timbira or Gamella
Western Kayapó
  Suya
Akuã
    Chavantes
    Cherentes
    Chicriaba

Here I must make the comment that the Akroá (except for the Jaicó) are linguistically much closer to the Akwẽ than to the Kayapó. Specifically, Bu as a tribal name and synonym for Kayapó (Ehrenreich once refers to the Kayabus) is inadmissible, while Timbira and Gamella represent two (or three) distinct peoples. Apart from this, my own Northwestern Gê group is merely an amplification of Ehrenreich's Kayapó.

Critique of Rivet.—In 1925 Rivet published a new classification of the Gê." With reference to the Northwestern and Central branches, his scheme is as follows:

Ie septentrionaux:
(1) Timbira de forêt
  Timbira du haut Gurupy
    Gamella
  Sakamekran
  Piokobje
  Augutle
  Kraaje
  Paikoje
(2) Timbira de savanne
  Temembu (Bukobu, Manajé, Aponegikran)
  Kapiekran
  Makamekran (Karaõu, Kraõ)
  Tamembo
  Karahé (Karaké)
  Kaanakaje (Kannakatie)
  Purekamekran
  Ponkatie
  Norekoaje

Ie centraux:
(1) Kayapó
  Kayapó
  Mékubenkokré
  Gradahé
  Kurupito (Purukaru)
  Gerotiré
  Karaho
  Ukikring
  Suyé
  Apinaje
  Gaviões (Krikataje, Karakati)
(2) Savinte Opaié (Arae)
  Serinte
  Sikriabé
  Seikó
  Akroá
  Gogue

As against Von den Steinen's and Ehrenreich's groupings, which rested only on reliable material, this later classification marks an unmistakable retrogression. The author has not merely included a large number of tribes for which historical documentation is hardly extant and linguistic evidence wholly wanting, but—strangely enough, in a linguistic classification—he has segregated his Timbira according to phyto-geographical principles. In coping with the chaos of synonyms Rivet has tried to simplify in a single case, infelicitously identifying the Temembu (prob-

" Von den Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, 315 f.
" Ehrenreich, Die Einteilung.
" Les langues du monde.

Nimuendajú E-6 (1929-1936) 1946 SCS Timbira SCS
Gc SLS

ably to be equated with the Krahõ') with the Bucobu, Aponegikran, and Manažó. A little farther on he cites these Temembu again as Tamembó; the Bucubu have appeared twice before as Piokobzé and Paikbzé; and the Manazó, a Tupí tribe, figure twice previously as Manažé and Amanajó. The Krahõ', too, appear three times, twice among the Northern and once among the Central Gê. Rivet has, indeed, dropped the division into Gês, Crans, and Bus; but by way of compensation he separates the Apinayé, Krîkatí, and Krahõ' from the other Timbira and places them with the Kayapó among the Central Gê. For his Šavánte Opaié, who are not a Gê people at all, one must substitute Šavánte-Akwẽ.

Critique of W. Schmidt and Snethlage.—In 1926 Wilhelm Schmidt restored order by uniting the Kayapó and Akuã languages as Northern and Western Gê groups.[a] Under the head of Cayapó-Sprachen he lists Suyá, Cayapó, Carahó, Apinagés, Aponegicran, Capiecran, Timbira, Canela, and Crengez; as Akuã-Sprachen, he lists Chavante, Cherente, Chacriabá, Geico, and Acroá-Mirim. Here the only doubtful allocation is at most that of the Geicó.

The last treatise on the Timbira is Snethlage's.[b] First among Martius' successors she reverts to the designation Cran (Krãn), making it comprise the Timbira-Gaviões, Kanella, Kraõ, Apinayé, Kayapó, and Suyá. The segregation of the Krãn from among the great conglomerate of Gê peoples (*Das Herausheben der Krãn aus dem grossen Konglomerat der Gê* [*Ze*]*völker*) is in his opinion the outstanding result of his researches. That this subdivision already appears in Ehrenreich's and Schmidt's schemes, seems to have eluded him.

Partly because of his reliance on Rivet, the section on History and Statistics[c] surveying the several tribes contains a series of minor inaccuracies. I venture to correct these in the order of their occurrence.

1. I am unable to discover any source suggesting that the [Southern] Kayapó who had been overcome with Bororó assistance were split into two sections that were pushed northward and southward, respectively. Actually the Southern Kayapó escaped toward the southwest; the Northern Kayapó, as Ehrenreich already stressed and as a glance at the word lists demonstrates, by no means represent the same tribe, but are clearly distinct, even though closely related.

2. "Möglichkeit besteht, dass einige Stämme, die Kaingang und Cherente Akwé ... auf diese oder ähnliche Weise (?Abdrängung durch die Conquista?) nach Süden gekommen sind." This sentence is not clear to me. So far as I know, the Šerénte never got away from their ancient habitat; and their traditions point toward the southeast. The Kaingang, too, rather seem to have pushed northward.

3. As for the Krahõ' tribe assigned by Sampaio to the northwest corner of the state of Bahia, it never existed. His informant, whom I knew personally, was a true Apinayé, who deliberately deceived Sampaio and others. I shall revert to this case.

The names Pepuxi, Puxiti, Petuxi, and Capepuxi (Kupẽpųčẽ') are evidently more or less corrupted forms of Pųčéti, the Timbira word for the Akwẽ, hence without reference to the Krahõ', one of whose subdivisions is represented by the Mãkamekra. Purekamekran (Põrekamekra) and Noroquagé (Nyurukwayé) were tribes distinct from the Krahõ', and originally not even their neighbors. Afotigé and Otogé are synonyms for the Apinayé. It is unintelligible why part of the Krahõ' should be regarded as "possibly identical with the Caracati"; the two tribes

[a] Schmidt, Die Sprachfamilien und Sprachkreise der Erde, 238.
[b] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind.
[c] *Ibid.*, 139–142.

1s Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS
Ge 515

G
T4
174
101

have been geographically and historically distinct from time immemorial and speak somewhat different dialects.

4. The author, following Rivet, incorrectly identifies the Aponegikrãn with the Temembó and Manajó. Capiecran, Corumecran, and Rąmkõ'kamekra all designate a single tribe, viz. the Canella of Ponto. The Sakamekrãn are neither identical with the Gamella of Codó nor do they come under the category of Canella. On the other hand, Acobu (Hakąpó) is the Timbira word for the Gamella. Of course, Apónyekrãn (or rather Apę'nyekra) and Aponegicran are merely different renderings of the same word.

5. The Tremembé could not possibly be identical with the Mujaraguano because, for one thing, Heriarte's description of the latter does not refer to any tribe of Maranhão. The Tremembé did not practice endocannibalism, but buried their dead in the sand of the ocean beach.[a]

6. It is incorrect to speak of the Temembó driving the Cannacatgé and Poncatgé out of the Rio Farinha district, especially if one identifies the aggressors with the Aponegicram, as the author does. According to Ribeiro, the Cannacatgé, who lived on the Farinha, were exterminated by São Pedro de Alcantara's bandeira in 1814; it is true that the Krahõ' (= Temembó) acted as allies of the expeditionary force.[b]

G
T
114
101

7. The free Gaviões neither live on the Gurupy nor are they identical with the Krẽyé of that area or the Timbira of Araparytíua (whom I at one time erroneously designated as Mehĩ); still less can they be equated with the Urubú, a Tupí tribe. Their settlements, so far as we can at present surmise, lie near the headwaters of two rivulets which empty into the Tocantins somewhat above and below Mãe Maria, halfway between the Araguaya and the Tacayunas confluence. Although Snethlage is unquestionably right in considering the steppes the true home of the Timbira, it is an indubitable fact that a fair number of contemporary tribes of this branch inhabit the true rain forests. On the other hand, the "tame" Gaviões live in what are perhaps the purest steppe tracts of the entire region.

8. Near the sources of the Alpercatas and on the Rio Balsas there are no Indians nowadays. The former marked the habitat of the Kénkateye Canella before their extermination in 1913.

9. The statements Snethlage obtained from an old Apinayé about supposed relations of his tribe with the wild Gaviões are incorrect. The Apinayé are afraid of the tame Gaviões, let alone their wild brethren, who are shunned even by their peaceable congeners on the upper Pindaré. Snethlage's informant estimated the Krãnye population at 1000. Yet in 1914 I found the tribe to number about 100; the census of the Serviço de Protecção aos Indios in 1919 sets the number at 65; and I have never known an Apinayé able to count with any assurance beyond twenty.

Omitting the distinction of Gês, Crans, and Bus because he evidently realized its inadequacy, Snethlage nevertheless retained the phrases Timbira da Matta and Timbira do Campo—notwithstanding his conclusion that basically all Timbira are steppe dwellers. How he got the designation Krãn, and especially why he invariably applies this nasalized form for the tribal names, I cannot comprehend. In his own word lists the unnasalized kra figures about half a dozen times with the meaning of "child," "son," "boy," "family." I am under the impression that he never heard the native terms for the tribes from the lips of the Indians, but adopted the forms I had used in a provisional communication to Father Koppers.[c] For example, he

[a] Betendorf, Chronica, 319.
[b] Ribeiro, Memoria, §§ 70, 83.
[c] Nimuendajú, Im Gebiet der Gê Völker.

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS
Ge SL5

writes "Krãnye" instead of "Krẽyé," though the name has nothing to do with kra (head) or kra (tribe), but is derived from krẽre (dwarf parrot), a word Snethlage himself records in his lists as "krenrã" and "krenãrã." He has not corrected the errors of my earlier orthography.

Tribal Names in Timbira Speech

The Timbira know that they are the several tribes of a major ethnic unit, which they define above all—apart from the greater or lesser linguistic homogeneity—by the presence of the hair furrow, earplugs, circular form of settlement, and log racing. Whenever I told them about some strange people they invariably questioned me as to the occurrence of these traits in order to determine whether I was speaking of congeners or aliens.

All non-Timbira were presumably once put into the category of kupẽ, a term now restricted to Neobrazilians, but formerly extended to Indians also, as appears from its application to the legendary foreign tribes of old.

So far as they are acquainted with one another, all the fifteen tribes listed above treat one another as members of one people, while this does not hold for their attitude toward the Guajajára, Tembé, Urubú, Gamella tribes, Karayá, and Akwẽ. When asked for a term to cover the totality of their own ethnic unit, the Indians are perplexed and finally either fail to answer or furnish one of the following three appellations: mehĩ (mehe, mehẽ); tayé (tayẽ', tãyĩ'); and mekra.

Of these, the first is more frequent, Fróes Abreu considering mehim and Pompeu Sobrinho mehime as the Rąmkõ'kamekra and Apą'nyekra designation for themselves, while I conceived mehĩ as that of the Timbira of Araparytíua.[28] The term further figures in my lists as follows:

Krẽyé: mẽhĩ', body.
Pụkôbye: mehẽ, people.
Kre'pụ'mkateye: mehe, people.
Apą'nyekra: mehĩ', Indians.
Rąmkõ'kamekra: mehĩ', people, Indians.[29]
Apinayé: pa'hi, people, Indians.

At all events the term is of quite generic significance, not restricted to the Timbira, let alone to a specific tribe of the branch, as I at first had assumed. According to my present knowledge, I incline to interpret the word as approximately signifying "person."

I committed a corresponding error in interpreting tayẽ' as the Bacabal Krẽyé word for this tribe itself,[30] though my list registers: tãyẽ', Indian; tãyĩ, people. Among the Kre'pụ'mkateye and Rąmkõ'kamekra I have recorded tayí, tayẽ' for "people." Pompeu Sobrinho[31] assumes itáiê as the pronoun of the second person plural. I would at present render it as possibly equivalent to "comrade," perhaps actually as "fellow member of my people." It seems to be used mainly as a vocative.

Mekra, as already explained, signifies "people, tribe"; at least in the formation of tribal names it is applied only to Timbira groups.

All these designations occur solely among the Eastern Timbira. The Apinayé, who are thoroughly imbued with the sense of kinship with the remainder of the branch, gave me for the Timbira people in its totality the word mãkraya, which

[28] Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 101. Pompeu Sobrinho, Merrime, 81. Nimuendajú, Vokabular der Timbiras.
[29] Snethlage has: mamhim, people; panjin, Indians.
[30] Vokabular und Sagen, 630.
[31] *Op. cit.*, 24.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

they otherwise use for the Krîkatí. The extension is explained by the Apinayé tradition which conceives all other Timbira tribes as offshoots of the Krîkatí.[8] Literally, the term signifies "ostrich tribe."

A genuine name distinctive of their ethnic unit in its totality is thus lacking among all these tribes, for which reason I have retained the term Timbira.

The neighboring Tanetehára (Tembé-Guajajára) of Tupí stock designate the Timbira as ąwįwa. Fróes Abreu spells it "Awâ," but I do not consider the word identical with Guaraní awá (man, Indian), but rather incline to see a connection with awí (different), with the secondary meaning of "false, incorrect."

The preceding chapter has demonstrated the ineffable confusion and uncertainty in the use of tribal names by various authors. As indicated, the same tribe under three synonyms occasionally figures as three separate tribes, even in the same publication. Hence it is worth while bringing order into this chaos by a closer study of the history of each tribe by itself.

Historical Survey of the Several Timbira Tribes

1. The Timbira of Araparytína

The Timbira living on the middle Gurupy at about 3° S. latitude immigrated into that region from the Pindaré not earlier than the second half of the last century. Initially they seem to have formed part of Ribeiro's "Timbira do Baixo Mearim," to whom he assigns as their true habitat in 1819 the region west of the Pindaré.[9] But they had evidently not been living there very long, for the Jesuits who resided along this river in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries make no mention of them, referring only to the Guajajára and Amanayé.

In 1820 Pereira do Lago knows of some Timbira a short distance west of Monção, along Lakes Acará, Acaryuassú, and Jacaréuassú; at that time they were only to a slight degree hostile.[10] But as late as 1855 we learn of the order to found an aldeamento in Capivary because of the frequent attacks of the Timbira on the farmers of the Vianna municipio. The tradition of the descendants of Gamella now resident there actually confirms the presence of Timbira among the Indians of Capivary at approximately that period.[11] Possibly there is some connection between this attempt to settle the Timbira among the Gamella and the migration toward the Gurupy.

In 1862 Governor Araujo Brusque reports two Timbira bands on the Gurupy as having emigrated many years ago from Maranhão. Numbering 100 to 150, they were said to dwell on the Pitinga, a western tributary of the Uruahim, and at Anajatiua; to roam about without fixed habitations; and to have previously been in constant warfare with the Tembé.

On the Gurupy the Timbira, as well as other tribes, came under the official superintendence of that notorious exploiter of Indians, Polycarpo José Tavares, of whom it is still said that Heaven paralyzed both his hands in punishment for his misdeeds. Rebelling against their tormentor at the beginning of the 'eighties, the Timbira returned to the Pindaré under the leadership of their chief Marayú. After his death they reappeared on the Gurupy in 1889, at first living at Pedro de Amolar, where they were afflicted with the measles, whereupon they moved very close to the Tembé village of Praia Grande, attaching themselves to the Neobrazilian family Ayres Pereira. When this family moved downstream to Bôa Vista, part of the Timbira

[8] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 169.
[9] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 25.
[10] Itinerario, 113, 114.
[11] Nimuendajú, The Gamella Indians, 11.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

among the Apinayé proved a failure, he soon returned, subsequently conducting the Santa Thereza mission for a number of years.[a]

In 1859 Ferreira Gomes[b] visited a settlement of the Krẽyé, whom he oddly designated as "Carajás." It was situated near Imperatriz and had from 50 to 60 inhabitants, who were ill nourished and very poorly off.

A tribal list of 1861 by Marques registers wild and tame Pivócas in the company of Coroados (?) at the Pindaré headwaters; wild, as well as some tame, Pivócasmecras in villages near the Tocantins; and wild and tame Gregês between the Rio Capim and Santa Thereza. It is true that his list is not very trustworthy, for among other blunders it cites the Amanayé under three distinct names as so many separate tribes; and the distinction between Pivóca and Pivócasmecras is nonsensical. Nevertheless his records seem to indicate that part of the tribe had already retired from the Tocantins back into the interior, though hardly to the Pindaré headwaters, the frontier from time immemorial of their enemies, the Krĩkatí. More probably they proceeded to the district where they were still met in later years, viz. that of the Rio Gurupy headwaters.

At the time of Dodt's survey of the Rio Gurupy in 1872 the "Carajés" were dwelling by the eastern fork of the Cajuapára headwaters in a village of 400–500 inhabitants. For their emigration from the Tocantins region they gave the following explanation: During the men's absence from the village on one occasion several sertão dwellers attacked it, abducting a number of Indian children. Then the Indians burnt down a neighboring fazenda, killing seven of the people there, and from fear of Neobrazilian revenge fled into the woods of the Gurupy region.[c]

During my stay on the Gurupy (1914–15) the Krẽyé were still living there. Their village, named Bacaba, had about 100 inhabitants in tolerable circumstances, being in a better state of preservation than the Timbira of Araparytíua. With the aid of their chief, who bore the Tembé name Arapuhá, I took down a small word list. The census of 1919 still credits the tribe with 65 souls. Not long after this the Serviço de Protecção aos Indios transferred it to Felippe Camarão at the mouth of the Jararaca, where there are at present only a few survivors.

5. *The Krĩkatí*

Krĩkatí means "big village"; it is the name by which the tribe is known not only among fellow Timbira, but even among the Northern Kayapó.[d] The Neobrazilians have transmogrified it into the name Caracaty, while the tribe generally calls itself Krĩkateyẽ (those of the village). Both appellations refer to the ancient tradition of a single large village once jointly inhabited by all the Timbira. The killing of a tame ostrich is supposed to have precipitated a bloody feud, whereupon the majority departed in separate groups, betaking themselves in different directions and forming new tribes. Only the present Krĩkateyẽ remained in the old settlement. It is with reference to this tradition that the Apinayé call this people Mãkraya (ostrich tribe), while it figures among the Kre'pṵ'mkateye, Rąmkõ'kamekra, and Apą'nyekra as Pẽnykõkateye (those of the mangaba water [pẽny, mangaba, i.e., *Hancornia* sp.; kõ, water]). The Neobrazilians have frequently confused the tribe with the Pṵkóbye, dubbing both of them Gaviões (falcons).

Since their first appearance, which to be sure does not date back a century, until their extinction as an independent people in 1930, the Krĩkatí had never left their ancient habitat east of the Tocantins, where this river gradually changes its south-

[a] See Aguiar, etc.
[b] Ferreira Gomes, Itinerario, 194–195.
[c] Dodt, Descripção, 121.
[d] Nimuendajú, Idiomas Indígenas, 561.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

north course into an east-west direction, that is, east of Imperatriz, in the interior. There they were already dwelling in 1844, when Castelnau noted them as dangerous. He was told that the Gaviões imperiled travel on the right bank of the Tocantins from São João do Araguaya to Bôa Vista, and the Caracati from this point on upstream.[a] This probably allots too extensive a range to the Gaviões.

After the establishment of the military colony of Santa Thereza in 1848 the tribe seems to have had brief intercourse with the missionary stationed there, Brother Manoel Procopio.[b] The report for 1849 designates these Indians as "ponco familiarizados" (little accustomed to intercourse); and in 1852 Brother Procopio is credited with a vain attempt to make the Caracatigés and Gavioës settle down at Campo do Frade, north of Imperatriz. Toward the end of 1853 there are said to have come down to Santa Thereza 300 Indians, and in 1854 the number of Caracatis there is given as 302.[c] But in the following year the mission was already in complete decadence,[d] in consequence whereof it disappears from later official reports. In the subsequent years we hear at most about Gaviões, a term that may have embraced Pukóbye *and* Krîkatí.

Strangely enough, Ehrenreich regards the Gaviões *or* Carakati as directly affiliated with the Northern Kayapó and seems to assume erroneously that they lived mainly to the west of the Tocantins, for he declares that they occasionally crossed the Tocantins below the Tacayunas confluence over to the right (east) bank. On his map the Gaviões *or* Carakati are placed on both sides of the Tocantins.[e]

The census of 1919 lists two Caracaty villages, Engenho Velho with 69 and Canto da Aldea with 204 inhabitants. A third settlement that was still in existence then, at Caldeirão, is not mentioned or possibly is included under Canto da Aldea. But when I visited the tribe in the following year, I found only a remnant of 80 souls at Canto da Aldea, at the extreme source of the Pindaré. Here these Indians were living impoverished and in a very sad plight from the pressure of near-by fazendeiros, who had usurped the whole tribal domain, leaving to the aborigines the choice between abandonment of their last settlement and being massacred. Even in the previous year, owing to a conflict with the wealthiest and greediest fazendeiro, one Salomão Barros, the villagers of the two other aldeas had scattered and retreated to the Pukóbye. Only the arrival from Barra do Corda of the Indian agent, Marcellino Miranda, had prevented the general massacre plotted by the fazendeiros. At that time he had vainly tried to transfer the Krîkatí from Canto da Aldea to some secure place of refuge, but they obstinately insisted on their rights, demanding the exodus of the fazendeiros if these objected to the proximity of the Indians.

In 1930 the situation came to a head. Pressed by the fazendeiros, the president of Maranhão, Magalhães de Almeida, informed the agent that unless they consented to depart he would have the Krîkatí forcibly removed by the constabulary. Once more the agent tried to transfer them to the Rio Ourives near Barra do Corda, but this merely led to a breaking up of this last independent remnant of the tribe. Having vainly begged the Apinayé and the Apą'nyekra to harbor them, the Krîkatí scattered in all directions. I do not know where the survivors may be hidden nowadays, but probably they have ceased to exist as a distinct tribe.

The Krîkatí dialect completely coincides with that of the Pukóbye.

[a] Castelnau, Histoire, 2:11, 17, 18.
[b] J. F. Coelho, Falla, 76. Aguiar, Relatorio, 53. J. J. Cunha, Falla, 1852, 82.
[c] Rego Barros, Falla, Annexo, 56.
[d] Frias Vasconcellos, 59.
[e] Ehrenreich, Beiträge, 149; *idem.*, Die Eintellung und Verbreitung.

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

6. The Pykóbye

The Pykóbye (= Piocobgêz, Paicogês), the most warlike of all the Timbira, occupied the region east and northeast of the Krîkatí, beyond the upper Rio Grajahú and more particularly the district watered by its western affluent, the Sant' Anna. The Neobrazilians nowadays generally call them Gaviões; their Timbira designation is derived from pykóp or pokóbo, a species of *Dioscorea*—among the Põrekamekra Pohl heard the form Bukobuji. The Krîkatí, Kre'pỵ'mkateye, and occasionally the Rąmkõ'kamekra call them Põpéykateye (those on the beautiful [or: true] steppe), as explained above (p. 1).

In Ribeiro's day they had five large villages, but possibly the Krîkatí were included in the count. At all events they were sufficiently strong and warlike to defeat all the bandeiras dispatched against them.[a]

In 1804 they compelled Francisco Alves dos Santos' bandeira to set at liberty the prisoners taken in their first attack and the bandeira itself to seek safety in precipitate flight. Ten years later they destroyed Manoel de Assumpçao's bandeira, a single wounded man escaping out of a company of forty. According to one account[b] this defeat occurred on June 28, 1813, and there were eighty-six dead. What I myself heard was that the massacre took place in a defile when the bandeira tried to storm the Serra da Desordem, to which the Pykóbye had retired, from its east tip. This Serra is not a range of several hundred kilometers, as the maps would lead one to suppose, but one of the many isolated steep knolls rising somewhat north of the road between Grajahú and Porto Franco from the Tocantins watershed, which now and then is barely perceptible.

Not long after this event the Pykóbye (in 1814 according to Ribeiro; according to Carlota Carvalho in 1813) attacked the settlement of Porto da Chada, then only three years old, at the site of what is now Grajahú. They burned both the houses and the boats in the harbor; thirty-eight persons perished in this onslaught. A punitive expedition composed of bandeiras from São Pedro de Alcantara and Pastos Bons was ignominiously repelled.

In 1849 the Gaviões are characterized as "ferozes e traiçoeiros" (wild and treacherous),[c] but about the middle of the century they began permanently peaceable relations with the neighboring Neobrazilians. In 1851 they and the Caracteges were put under the same directoria, which comprised the region of the Grajahú from Tapero Leopoldina at 4° 50′ S. latitude to Villa da Chapada (= Grajahú). Their number was then set at 1000.[d]

In 1858 there are listed fourteen peaceable villages, one of them credited with 1000 inhabitants, including 600 warriors (*sic*), and a chief who styled himself "governador." Another is said to have 800 people, including 350 able to bear arms, under the chief Belizario. Two others had a population of 600 each. In addition there were said to be numerous others in a wild state [the Western Gaviões]. Even assuming that these figures comprise the Krîkatí as well, I find them incredible and have still less faith in the "over 6000" Gaviões reported in a tribal list of 1861.

According to tradition the governador until his death at the beginning of the 'seventies admonished his people to remain at peace and prevented cattle lifting. He further ceded to the Neobrazilians diverse strips of land in return for meager compensation. The site of his erstwhile village, not far from the present Pykóbye settlement of São Felix, still bears his name.

[a] Ribeiro, Memoria, §§ 62–64, 79; Roteiro, 27, 46; Descripção, 70.
[b] Carlota Carvalho, O Sertão, 43–45.
[c] J. F. Coelho, 76. [d] Marques, Apontamentos, "Indios." Aguiar, 53.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

The tables have turned by now. Reduced in numbers and robbed of their territory, the Pukóbye survivors have sunk almost to the same untenable position as the Krîkatí in the period of their destruction. Over them, too, the Damocles' sword of a massacre by Grajahú fazendeiros is constantly suspended. For a long time they have been ousted from their tracts along the Rio Sant' Anna (once named R. Piocobgê, after them) and pushed toward the edge of the tropical forest region of the Pindaré. For a long time they inhabited an aldea on the Morro do Chapeu, east of the upper Pindaré. The census of 1919 credits this village with 52 inhabitants, who are wrongly registered as "Canellas." The figure may be too low for that period, but confirms my informants' statements, that the true Pukóbye have dwindled to very inconsiderable numbers, the majority of the people now inhabiting Pukóbye settlements being members of other tribes, notably Krîkatí refugees.

In 1929, when I visited these Indians, they occupied the aldeas of São Felix and Recurso, situated at a distance of sixteen kilometers from each other, somewhat north and south of Morro do Chapeu. They harbored possibly 150 and 120 inhabitants, respectively. In São Felix, more particularly, there were many Krîkatí from the settlements broken up in the previous year. In Recurso I heard about remnants of an unidentifiable Timbira group, the Kõtụ'krekateye (those of the little black creek), who are said to have once lived somewhere between the upper Grajahú and Mearim; suspected of participation in the Guajajára rebellion of 1901, they had fled to the Pukóbye.

In 1924 Snethlage recorded one hundred and thirty Pukóbye words in Barra do Corda;[a] five years later in São Felix I took down two hundred and thirty.

7. *The Western Gaviões*

Somewhat below the Araguaya confluence the Tocantins bends northward from its east-west course. The forests in the angle thus formed are now inhabited by an Indian tribe that according to the tradition of the Pukóbye of the Grajahú steppes seceded from them a long time ago, betaking itself to the woods. As a matter of fact the Neobrazilians designate both groups as Gaviões without recognizing any differences between them.

The earlier reports on the region in question register solely a "Jacundá tribe," which, however, does not seem to have been of the Timbira branch. The first to mention it is Villa Real[b] in 1793. At that time they were living on the Guayapi and Jacundá, eastern tributaries of the Tocantins in the region of the Itaboca rapids. Their chiefs were Uoriniuera and Claxira, of which names the former, unlike the second, is definitely Tupí. Notwithstanding the lack of all linguistic evidence Martius and Ehrenreich class the group as Tupí; the latter also erroneously places it on the west side of the Tocantins. The people are described as light skinned and amiable.[c] Ribeiro mentions them in 1819. Castelnau in 1844.[d] In 1849 they are still registered among the tribes within the domain of Santa Thereza mission, and in 1850 Ayres Carneiro met them on the Praia Ambauá, somewhat above what is now Alcobaça.[e] This is their last appearance in history, and in 1859 the Gaviões for the first time figure in their place.[f] At that period they were hostile to all other tribes, likewise avoiding relations with civilized people whenever they encountered them

[a] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 187 f.
[b] Villa Real, Viagem, 425 f., 432.
[c] Marques, Apontamentos, "Tocantins."
[d] Ribeiro, Memoria, Nota 51. Castelnau, Histoire, 2:117.
[e] J. F. Coelho, 76. Carneiro, Itinerario, 25.
[f] Ferreira Gomes, Itinerario, 496.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

constantly pushed northward. During my first stay in Alcobaça (1926) I already heard of hostile Indians in the vicinity of the Caxoeira dos Guaribas (4° S. latitude), but those I saw at the time at Mundurucú, somewhat below these falls, belonged to the Amanayé tribe (of Tupí stock) and had come from the Mojú. In February 1930, when I once more ascended the Tocantins, a new attack had occurred precisely at these rapids, on the Ribeirão Pitinga. The arrows gathered from the site were indistinguishable from the Gaviões type.

However, the present headquarters of the tribe are placed in the region of the headwaters of the Rio Jacundá. This rivulet, not to be confounded with its namesake near the Caxoeira Itaboca, flows from the north emptying into the Tocantins a mile downstream from São João do Araguaya. Upstream they still range along the east bank of the Tocantins about as far as Cocal, three miles beyond the mouth of the Araguaya; in the interior they are said to extend somewhat farther to the east. Their camps have been encountered on the headwaters of the Rio Mojú, which extend much farther south—beyond 4° S. latitude—than the maps indicate. Moreover, the plantations of the Amanayé on the Ararandéua (the western source of the Capim) have been invaded by natives who, judging from the arrows discharged, could only have been Gaviões. Oddly enough, the victimized Tupí tribe calls them Warayú, a name already connected with this area on Father Samuel Fričs map of 1695. The Akwẽ designate all alien tribes as Worãru.

I have never heard of any Gaviões invasion of the region about the forked sources of the Gurupy, a district partly unsettled, partly occupied by the Krẽyé and the Tembé (Tupí). Prior to their migration into the Capim area, the Amanayé used to live on the east fork (the Cajuapára) and later on the middle fork (the Tucumandí). Snethlage is misinformed in speaking of wild Gaviões *or* Urubú in the region of the Gurupy headwaters and in identifying these people with the Krẽyé of Cajuapára and the Timbira of Araparytíua, whom I myself had once erroneously designated as Mehí.[a] The habitat of the Urubú, whom Snethlage correctly classes as Tupí in connection with their attack on Redondo on the Maracassumé,[b] lies between the Gurupy and the Pindaré; they have never gone beyond the Gurupy-Mirim confluence, 3° 40′ S. latitude. Thus, the Gaviões and Urubú were not even immediate neighbors, for they were separated along the Gurupy by the main body of Tembé in ten villages (1914).

Except for a few words, inadequately enough recorded by Moura in 1896 and by Manoel da Matta in 1912, nothing is known about the language of the Western Gaviões. In many respects they seem to differ from the Pụkóbye of the Grajahú steppe. Whether they actually perforate the lower lip, as some allege, has not been definitely determined. On the other hand, though they do pierce the lobe of the ear, they certainly do not wear the large earplugs of the Pụkóbye and other Timbira, nor do they cut their hair so as to produce the characteristically Timbira furrow. In their woods the above-mentioned unsuccessful punitive expedition saw wide, straight streets, which suggest the universal Timbira practice of log racing. There has likewise been found a girdle with rattling tapir hoofs of the type worn by the other tribes in their races.

The Western Gaviões are the only Timbira still living free and unconfined. Their investigation would be of extraordinary significance for the illumination of Timbira culture, but could only become possible by a lucky fluke, for no one knows when or where they will get to the river bank, and to search for them in the interior

[a] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 114, 142.
[b] *Idem.*, Meine Reise, 113.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

LA 101

Martius gives as synonyms: Grajahús, Guajajáras, and Pepuxis.[a] However, Grajahú is the name of a river, not of a tribe; it is derived from karayá (howling monkey) and ỉ (water). Guajajára designates the well-known Tupí tribe, never known to have lived even near the Krahõ′. As for Pepuxi, that term will be discussed presently.

LA 101 114

The Akwẽ-Šerénte, their southern neighbors, call the Krahõ′ by the name Worazúrié (small alien people). Ribeiro at first speaks of them only as Caraús or Caraôus[b] and wonders why "a certain person" (he means Pinto de Magalhães, the founder of São Pedro de Alcantara) had called them Maquemecrans. But later he himself invariably used the form Macamecrans, saying that on the Tocantins they were known as Pepuxis and Tamemboz. However, his earliest paper reckons the Pepuxis and Caraús as distinct tribes of the Tocantins, while elsewhere he cites the Timbira Caraoús as a branch of the Pepuxis.

Ignoring the term Macamecrans for the present, we shall devote ourselves to clearing up the confusion concerning the terms Tamembó and Pepuxi. The first chronicler (1812) who mentions the Capepuxis and Temimbós, but not the Krahõ′ is Silva e Souza.[c] He places the indolent and predatory Capepuxis in two villages "do Araguaya" (meaning "do Tocantins"), assigning to the peaceable Temimbós five villages near Pastos Bons. His Capepuxi are thus probably identical with the Krahõ′. His Temimbo must designate the Amanayé, though they occupied a single village, one legua from Pastos Bons, where they numbered in 1815 some 20 souls. Cazal, too, equates Temembó and Manajó.[d]

As indicated, Ribeiro, otherwise highly reliable, is full of contradictions on this point. His contemporary, Pohl, who himself visited the Krahõ′, registers Timembó as a synonym for Krahõ′, while he identifies the Iricosche, an otherwise unrecorded people living near the Põrekamekra, with the Capepuxi.[e]

In 1824 Cunha Mattos mentions the Pepuxy or Temembó as on the left bank of the Tocantins below São Pedro de Alcantara, adding the Krahõ′ as a distinct tribe. Elsewhere he states that the Puxiti (Timbira pụẽ̃′ti = Šavánte), Petuxi (?), Pepuxi, or Temembó were living from the Manoel Alves to the Caxoeira das Tres Barras and were of the same tribe as the Macamecrans (= Krahõ′), but immediately thereafter he lists this last group as a separate tribe.[f]

Rivet, and after him, Snethlage, not only adopted Cazal's identification of the Temembó with the Tupí Manajó (= Amanayé), but went so far as to further identify them with the Timbira Aponegicran (= Apạ′nyekra) and to list the Krahõ′ separately. The identity of the Temembó with the Krahõ′—as assumed by Ribeiro Magalhães, and Pohl—rests, above all, on the fact that the former name occurs only in the reports of 1812–24, that is, precisely during the period in which the Krahõ′ appeared on the Tocantins, spreading along both banks in the very region those older sources ascribe to the Temembó. Against this evidence Cunha Mattos' listing of Temembó and Krahõ′ as separate tribes does not weigh heavily, for this author listed the Apinayé as three distinct tribes under as many synonyms.

On the contrary, the identity of the Pepuxi (or Capepuxi, in Silva e Souza's and Pohl's spelling) with the Krahõ′ seems highly dubious. Cunha Mattos' Puxiti, recorded as a synonym along with Petuxi and Pepuxi, indicates the name Pụ-ẽ̃′-ti

[a] Spix and Martius, Reise, 2:286.
[b] Ribeiro, Memoria, §§ 68, 70–74; Roteiro, 62, Notas E, 8, U; Descripção, §§ 55, 59, 69.
[c] Silva e Souza, Memoria, 495, 496.
[d] Cazal, Chorographia, 2:265.
[e] Pohl, Reise, 2:191, 211.
[f] Cunha Mattos, Chorographia, 37:385; 38:20.

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

(large penis sheath), the quite general designation of the Šerénte-Šavánte in Timbira speech. Capepuxi probably stands for Kupẽpṇõ′ (alien tribe of the penis sheath). At that time the Šavánte extended as far as the district assigned to the Capepuxi.

About the original habitat of the Krahõ′, Ribeiro expresses himself rather obscurely. "Ribeira de Balsa" denotes not the river, but the district so called. This, as appears from the text, included primarily the region of the Rio Macapá. Strangely enough, when this author gives as boundaries of the Ribeira da Lapa the rivers Manoel Alves Grande, Sereno, and Balsas, we must not understand thereby the angle south of the Sereno, but the district to the north, since the "Lapa" for which the district was named is situated near the present Riachão. Moreover, the Krahõ′ were neighbors and enemies of the Akwẽ-Šavánte, who according to Ribeiro originally occupied the country northward to the Rio Farinha and beyond the Rio Balsas, including the above-mentioned Ribeira da Lapa. Thus, the Krahõ′ must have dwelt originally in the region of the Neves and Macápa, not as some assume i the southeastern panhandle of the present state of Maranhão.

However, in Ribeira's day they had already been crowded westward from these ancient headquarters into the district between the Farinha and Manoel Alves Grande, of which they dispossessed the Šavánte. Here, too, they were pursued by bandeiras and pushed toward and even beyond the Tocantins. As bitter enemies of the stockbreeders, who had ousted them from their former country, they destroyed the fazenda do Sacco in 1808 and Vargem de Pascoa in the Balsas region in 1809. Thereupon one hundred and fifty volunteers and twenty soldiers victoriously attacked one of their villages, taking seventy prisoners, who were sent to São Luiz. Then the Krahõ′ begged for peace, which was granted on condition that they would abide by the treaty. Their numbers were at that time estimated at 3000.[33]

In the following year they commenced friendly relations with the founder of São Pedro de Alcantara (now Carolina), Francisco José Pinto de Magalhães, and definitively moved to the Tocantina.

Pohl's statements might suggest the inference that Magalhães first (in 1808?) made allies of the Põrekamekra on the left bank of the Tocantins, not concluding peace with the Krahõ′ until they had crossed the river and come into armed conflict with the Põrekamekra.[34] In this appeasement he is supposed to have been aided by a Krahõ′ mistress. In any case the Krahõ′ henceforth played a double part. On the one hand, in the guise of peaceable Indians, they inflicted on their old enemies, the Eastern fazendeiros, as much damage as possible by stealing cattle and imputing the theft to other tribes. On the other hand, they were Magalhães' faithful allies in all bandeiras against the other Timbira. Naturally, Magalhães represents these expeditions as defensive measures of his own and on the part of the Krahõ′, but from Ribeiro we know that the primary motive was the craving for slaves, Magalhães maintaining a brisk trade in such with Piuhy and beyond the Tocantins as far as Pará. A missionary sent to him by the Goyaz government actively participated in this business. Magalhães was even reported to have sold his one-time mistress, the Krahõ′ girl he had used in his negotiations for peace.[35] His best tool in the slave raids was the Krahõ′ chief Apúierít, who (as Magalhães put it) magnanimously turned over to him all of his own captives. He was subsequently poisoned by his own people.

[33] Cf. Pohl, Reise 2:182–207.
[34] *Ibid.*, 2:137.
[35] Saint-Adolphe, Diccionario, "Sao Pedro de Alcantara.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

After Magalhães' death the Krahô′ constantly retreated farther west and south before the encroaching fazendeiros. In 1825 Cunha Mattos has them settled in three villages with 200 warriors;[75] they were situated in the strip of São Pedro de Alcantara which Goyaz had ceded to Maranhão in 1816. Thence many had moved to the Ilha de São José, 6° 50′, and from there to the mainland opposite. In 1829 the Krahô′, attacked for their misdeeds by the officials of Maranhão, formed a league with the Apinayé, which sorely troubled the border commandant of Carolina. This alliance endured until 1923, when animosity arose because of the steps the Apinayé were taking against a Krahô′ sorcerer.

In 1844 Castelnau encountered the Krahô′ on the Tocantins and took down a word list.[76] He mistook them for an Apinapé tribe, an inaccuracy matched by Coudreau's statement that the Canella and Krahô′ had formerly been a single group that did not split up until the period of the chief Major Tito.[77] Castelnau sets the limits of Krahô′ territory on the east bank of the Tocantins between somewhat below São Pedro de Alcantara and the Ilha dos Campos, 6° 40′. Opposite the upper end of the Ilha de São José there was on the west bank the aldea of Carolina with some fifteen houses. Further, this author has two aldeas opposite each other somewhat above the mouth of the Manoel Alves Grande, but mentions only one of them in his text. Probably, however, the two settlements visited by Castelnau with their total of eighteen huts and a presumable population of 140 to 150, did not represent the entire surviving part of the tribe: it seems likely that there were other Krahô′ settlements in the interior.

For a long time the idea had arisen of transferring the Krahô′ farther upstream, to the mouth of the Rio do Somno.[78] The plan obviously had a twofold object. First, there was a desire to get rid of the erstwhile allies, whose cattle lifting made them an increasing nuisance; secondly, they were to be pitted against their ancient enemies, the Savánte-Šerénte, who remained a menace to Carolina. In 1848 the Capuchin missionary, Brother Rafael Tuggia, achieved this transfer by founding the mission of Pedro Affonso at the mouth of the Rio do Somno. But he was unable to retain the Krahô′ permanently at that station, where the epidemics of 1849 and 1850 wrought such havoc that by 1852 their population had shrunk to 620.[79] In 1859 they inhabited three villages about four leagues from Pedro Affonso.[80] The influence of the mission on tribal custom seems to have been extraordinarily slight. On the other hand, according to their own tradition, the Krahô′ owe their strong mixture with Negroes to the twenty-seven year long mission period, which lasted until 1875. Their subsequent chief, Major Tito, who became famous for his wealth and was later murdered by Neobrazilians, was a Negro breed, as are nearly all of the present Krahô′ chiefs.

In 1910 there appeared in the city of Bahia a Timbira with perforated lower lip who called himself Capitão Luiz, his Indian name being Catome (= Ka'tą'm). He pretended to be the chief of the Krahô′ village of Gamelleira on the Rio Preto, in the extreme northwest corner of the state of Bahia. Theodoro Sampaio tried to pump him as to the condition of his people, but for reasons of his own the Indian was very reserved in his statements, though willing to furnish a long word list of the "Kraô" tongue, which Sampaio published in 1912.

[75] Cunha Mattos, Chorographia, 38:20, 286.
[76] Castelnau, Histoire, 2:41, 47, 115. See also his map 25 in the "Itinéraire" and the "Géographie."
[77] Coudreau, Tocantins-Araguaya, 210.
[78] Pohl, Reise, 2:174. Cunha Mattos, Chorographia, 37:384.
[79] Tuggia, 122.
[80] Ferreira Gomes, Itinerario, 490.

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

115 In 1913 I met the same Luiz Ka'tą'm in Rio de Janeiro at the chief office of the
101 Serviço de Proteeção aos Indios and also took down samples of his language. He told me, too, that he was a Krahõ' and was living on the Manoel Alves Pequeño, where the villages of this tribe, including Gamelleira, are actually situated. Today I am certain that he was not a Krahõ', but an Apinayé from Bacaba, as clearly proved by his name, his perforated lower lip, and the vocabulary. His mendacious statements were made in order to establish his citizenship in Bahia, with claims to support from the government of that state. When once known to the outside world as a Krahõ', he deemed it wiser to persist in the pretense in order to guard against the contingency of being recognized by some Bahian in Rio.

The Krahõ' have never lived on the Rio Preto or elsewhere in Bahia. Both Sampaio's and my own vocabulary of 1913 are useless as samples of Krahõ' speech, for both represent pure Apinayé, while (as Martius noted in 1819 when recording his Aponegieran word list) the Krahõ' dialect wholly coincides with that of the Canella.

115 What little information Luiz Ka'tą'm dropped concerning the customs of his
171 people in speaking with Sampaio either applies exclusively to the Apinayé (burity
714 carrying girdle for children, assistance rendered at rapids) or is incorrect (stone knives, transport of fire in pottery). Sampaio's vocabulary also contains a comical blunder: "soul" (Portuguese alma) = catonço; but katõk actually signifies firearms (Port. arma). Equally unreliable is the localization of Gê tribes on his map.

In 1926 Snethlage met several Krahõ' in Carolina and with their aid took down a list of seventy words. In April and May 1930, when I lived among this tribe, I dispensed with obtaining a special vocabulary because of the manifest identity of Krahõ' with the Rąmkõ'kamekra dialect.

619 I was able to ascertain that the tribe, which now lives in the district of the Rio
131 Manoel Alves Pequeño, between 8° and 9° S. latitude, has two subdivisions, a
177 northern and a southern.

The southern group, which bears the name of Mąkamekra (ostrich tribe), had had its village first on the Gamelleira, then on the Donzella, these being brooks tributary to the upper Manoel Alves Pequeño. A short time before my visit, however, the pressure of the near-by fazendeiros had caused a split, each half now living separately under the chiefs Secundo and Bernardino, respectively, around the headwaters of that river. A friend of the Indians long resident in their vicinity, Santo Moreira, tried hard to prop up the tottering community and to defend the last bit of Indian land against the intruding stockbreeders. But the wiles and calumny of his opponents, with whom the despicable chief Secundo was in league, thwarted all his efforts.

619 The other subdivision, inhabiting the aldeas of Pedra Branca (pl. 1, *a*) and Pedra
131 Furada some fifty kilometers to the north, on right affluents of the Rio Manoel
621 Alves Pequeño, is called Kenpókateye, that is, those of the flat rock. For the time being two villages of seventeen and sixteen houses, respectively, remain closely knit communities which are still organized up to a certain point in ancient Timbira fashion. To be sure, the Brazilian Baptist missionaries stationed near Pedra Furada are exerting themselves to break up the old organization. They wish to settle the Indians according to the missionaries' notions of a colony, with abolition of log racing, etc. But since the influence of this mission is clearly very slight, the hope remains that these plans, whose realization would signify the beginning of the end for the Krahõ' will not be executed in the immediate future.

619 In 1930 the surviving Mąkamekra numbered close to 100; the two Kenpókateye
162 villages may be set at 150 souls each, so that the entire Krahõ' tribe may be estimated at 400.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

619 177 In comparison with the Rąmkõ'kamekra the Krahõ' appear culturally impoverished—a possible result of their repeated wanderings and of their resettlement under Neobrazilian influence.

10. The Põrekamekra

619 101 114 According to the mutually corroboratory testimony of Ribeiro and the Krahõ' the remnants of the Põrekamekra merged with the Mąkamekra horde of the Krahõ' over a century ago. Ribeiro identifies them with the Cupinharó, but remarks subsequently that these people, of whom he had learnt in 1800 as steppe dwellers to the west of the Grajahú, either had never existed at all or had been destroyed by the Põrekamekra and Pųkóbye.[a] The tribal name in question, which still figures in the traditions of contemporary Rąmkõ'kamekra, is doubtless Timbira kupẽyaró, from kupẽ (alien tribe) and ro (stooping, bent). Thus, the very term proves that it refers to a non-Timbira people, thereby excluding the Põrekamekra. Martius suggests that they may have been Tupí and explains the name as Cupynuaras (ant men).

In 1722 or 1723 war was waged against the Cupinharós, Guanarés, Barbados, and Anapurús—all of them tribes of the northeast corner of Maranhão, between the Itapicurú and Parnahyba,[b] but at the beginning of the nineteenth century the tribe is mentioned solely for the Tocantins region. It is said to have owned an idol (dance mask?) which the commandant of Pastos Bons sent to the governor of Maranhão. According to Martius,[c] the tribe was existing "even today" (1819? 1867?) unconfined on the Tocantins, south of São Pedro de Alcantara. In any event, Ribeiro's identification of the Kupẽyaró and the Põrekamekra is unacceptable.

The only two, almost synchronous, sources on the Põrekamekra, Pohl (1819) and Ribeiro (who saw them in 1815 and probably also later) are not easily reconciled. According to Pohl, Pinto de Magalhães, after his sudden appearance on the Tocantins in 1808, first made a treaty of peace with this tribe on the west bank, subsequently coming to terms with the Krahõ' attackers of the Põrekamekra. Contrary to Pohl, the Põrekamekra could not formerly have lived much farther south, for there lay the territory of the Akwẽ-Šavánte. During Magalhães' subsequent stay in Pará, Antonio Moreira's bandeira attacked and massacred the Indians. In 1810 Magalhães returned, assembled the Indians anew, and founded São Pedro de Alcantara, while Placido Carvalho, who had accompanied him from Pará, settled with the Põrekamekra at Cocal, at the apex of the great westward bend of the Tocantins below Carolina, that is, on the west bank. Pohl seems to indicate that this occurred immediately after Magalhães' return. Nine years later Pohl visited the colony of Cocal, remaining from August 9 to 11, 1819.

According to this author, then, the Põrekamekra resided on the west side of the Tocantins at least from about 1808 until 1819.

619 175 Ribeiro, certainly far more familiar with the development of the district after his nineteen years' stay than Pohl could have been after a three days' visit, tells the history of this tribe quite differently. He credits the Põrekamekra originally with two villages between the Pųkóbye (Grajahú region) and the mouth of the Rio [61] Farinha, that is, on the east bank. After Antonio Moreira's offer of peace to one of the villages in 1814, its 400 to 500 inhabitants (not counting the children), headed by chief Cocrît, appeared in São Pedro de Alcantara, bearing green twigs in token of peace. Several months later they moved their settlement near this town, but their

[a] Ribeiro, Roteiro, § 61; Memoria, § 63.
[b] Pereira da Costa, Chronologia, 135.
[c] Martius, Beiträge, 1:198.

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

chief was captured and the rest were abused to such an extent that part of them joined the Krahõ', while the remainder despondently sought safety in flight.

The second village of the Põrekamekra, as well as that of the equally peaceable "Poncatagê" (Põkateye, those of the steppe; an unidentifiable tribe), was visited by the bandeira of São Pedro de Alcantara and the allied Krahõ'. The Indians had fled, but persuaded by promises made to them through Cocrit, 364 of them consented to appear before the bandeira, only to be thrown into fetters amid horrible murders and other deeds of violence. Some were still able to flee, but 164 were captured, 130 of them—the bandeira leader's share—being branded with redhot irons and sold to Pará. Of this occurrence on July 24, 1815, Ribeiro, according to his express statement, was an eyewitness.

It is thus incomprehensible that four years later Pohl should have found 600 to 700 Põrekamekra peaceably residing in Cocal. Possibly he merely saw another group erroneously identified by Carvalho as Põrekamekra. Cunha Mattos, who mentions Cocal as late as 1824, described its residents as Cherente (?).[66]

The tribal name is not derived from "pure," burity leafstalk, as Ribeiro's orthography would suggest, but according to what the Krahõ' explicitly told me, from põre, a small falcon known to the Neobrazilians as caboré.

Pohl mentions a vocabulary recorded by him and refers readers to his Appendix, but I cannot find it in the two copies of his work accessible to me. Thus, I am acquainted with only the thirty words given by Martius here and there for purposes of comparison.[67]

Nevertheless, it is clear that, as with the neighboring Pụkóbye and Krahõ', the speech represents the southeastern dialect of Timbira. They differed to their advantage in their amicable, peaceable character, stressed by both Ribeiro and Pohl, which reminds one of their northwestern neighbors, the Apinayé.

11–13. The Canella

Neobrazilians unite the Kénkateye, Apạ'nyekra and Rạmkõ'kamekra under the single head of Canellas. These tribes themselves, however, lack a common name for the three groups and recognize no closer affinity among themselves than between any of the three and the Krahõ' or the Čạ'kamekra.

In the sertão no other tribes have ever been connected with that appellation. Martius, too, classes as Canellas finas only the Corume- and Capie-Crans (= Rạmkõ'-kamekra) and the Aponegi-Crans (= Apạ'nyekra); possibly the Kénkateye were not yet in existence in his day.[68] On the other hand, Snethlage defines the concept quite differently, making it comprise: (a) Aponegikrãn = Temembó = Mannajo; (b) Kapiekrãn; (c) Sacamekrãn = Gamellas de Codo; (d) Korumekrãn; (e) Acobu; (f) Remkókamekrãn; (g) Aponyekrãn; (h) Kénkateye.[69]

This list evokes the following comments:

The Aponegikrãn are, indeed, identical with Aponyekrãn, or rather Apạ'nyekra, but not with the Temembó and, still less, with the Mannajo (= Amanayé). Kapiekrãn, Korumekrãn, and Remkókamekran are merely three distinct names for one tribe, the Canella of Ponto. The Sacamekrãn were quite distinct from the Gamella of Codó, in fact, were their bitter enemies. On the other hand, these Gamella, who are not Timbira at all, are identical with the Acobu (= Hakạpó).

In Les Capiekrans, Father Etienne Ignace gives misleading statements about the habitat of the Canella whose coastal origin he "proves" by their allegedly excessive

[66] Cunha Mattos, Chorographia, 38:386.
[67] Martius, Beiträge, vol. 2.
[68] *Ibid.*, 1:285.
[69] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 141.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

salting of food even at the present day! He assigns to the Canella four villages near Grajahú, viz. Dois Braços—an old Guajajára colony somewhat above Barra do Corda; Jacaré (unknown to me, but certainly not a Canella village); Ponto (actually Canella, but seventy-eight kilometers south of Barra do Corda); and Mocura (a former Čą'kamekra settlement southeast of Barra do Corda). However, this author asserts, contrary to the facts at any period, that Canella groups reside in and around Barra do Corda, alongside of Craméro (?) and Crarros Indians (Krahõ', fifty kilometers southwest of Barra do Corda). His other statements likewise are most inaccurate and refer, as Snethlage correctly recognized, to tribes outside the Gê stock. Ignace's history of the Capiekran is a greatly abbreviated and disfigured summary of Ribeiro, and the vocabulary he obtained from Canella Indians visiting Bahia in 1902 includes a considerable number of words not belonging to their speech.

Similarly we must correct the statements of Pompeu Sobrinho concerning the habitat of the Canella.[80] These neither resided at the Balsas headwaters until a few years ago, nor are they at present situated in the missions of Barra do Corda. Their villages never lay on the left bank of the Rio Corda, but invariably east of this river. Of the five names he cites as borne by the principal Canella settlements, Capim = Porquinhos, and Soledade = Travessia. Both the Timbira of the Gurupy and the forest-dwelling Krẽyé of Bacabal call the Canella by the name Krĩkatí, and the Pụkóbye by the name Põkatie (those of the steppes [põ]). Ribeiro, too, mentions the Poncatgê in connection with the Põrekamekra. To the Akwẽ-Šerénte the Canella tribes are known as Worazúzauré (large alien tribe) in contrast to the Worazuríe (Krahõ').

Ribeiro was the first writer to apply the term Canellas finas; he applied it to the Capiecrans (our Rąmkõ'kamekra) and expressly admits ignorance of the etymology of this name: "nome do qual ignoramos a etymologia."[81] Others, however, were not backward in giving interpretations. Martius translates the name as "thin feet," declaring that the Corumecrans achieved the desired slenderness for their lower legs by means of tight cotton bands adopted in youth.[82] Saint-Adolphe has it that the discoverers of the Timbira dubbed them "Canellas finas" because of the thinness of their legs and bodies; while Kissenberth translates the name as "Indians with thin shinbones."[83] Finally, Snethlage declares that the thin calves of the Krãn tribes had always aroused attention, whence the Capiekrãn were designated as "Canellas finas."

To be sure, canella signifies "shinbone" and "calf" to boot, for which vulgar Portuguese lacks a separate term; it is also true that fino means "thin, fine, delicate." These facts, however, were naturally known to Ribeiro as well as to others of Portuguese speech; if he preferred to leave the rendering open, it was because his undoubtedly accurate knowledge of Capiecran had taught him to reject the common interpretation of the phrase. Certainly it would be remarkable if the very people who from childhood on ardently practice running and log racing as their national sport were to be distinguished from other tribes by the delicacy of their calves. A glance at their photographs suffices to dispel this interpretation.

Personally I should prefer to follow Ribeiro's example, but tentatively propose

[80] Pompeu Sobrinho, Merrime, 4, 8.

[81] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 45.

[82] "Ihre Unterschenkel sind mit Querbändern von gefärbter Baumwolle geziert, deren straffes Anziehen von Jugend auf sie als Mittel betrachten, die gewünschte Schlankheit zu erlangen." Spix and Martius, Reise, 2:822. Martius, Beiträge, 1:285.

[83] Saint-Adolphe, Diccionario, "Timbiras." Kissenberth, Bei den Canella-Indianern, 47.

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

Personally I should prefer to follow Rubrecht's example, but tentatively propose
131 the following explanation. Many maps, especially those of earlier date, register
101 between the Rio Corda and the upper Mearim (or its tributary rivulet, the Engeitado) a range of mountains.[99] In reality this, as in other comparable cases, is nothing but an elongated hill hardly one hundred meters above the valley of the Corda. It is visible if one looks from the Apa'nyekra settlement of Porquinhos obliquely upstream across the near-by Rio Corda. This eminence, nowadays commonly known as Pedra Branca, figures on the maps cited as "Serra da Canella" (*nota bene: da Canella*, not *dos Canellas*, as would be inevitable if it were named after the Indian tribe of that name, in whose territory it lies). Whence, then, the appellation for this eminence? The term Canella designates not only "shinbone," but also "cinnamon"; in northern Brazil there are several trees whose bark emits a cinnamon-like odor and which are for that reason quite generally called canella. Conceivably—but only conceivably—the Serra da Canella (fina) got its name from a (slender) cinnamon tree, and the Indians in turn were called after the mountain in their country.

619 101 174 *1. Kénkateye.*—The first sizable left affluent of the Rio Alpercatas is still known as Ribeirão dos Caboclos (caboclo = Indian) because it was the former habitat of the Kénkateye Canella, whose name denotes "those of the rock (or mountains)." According to Rąmkõ'kamekra and Apą'nyekra statements the formation of this tribe seems to be of recent date—I should conjecture about the 'sixties of the last century. It is said to refer to an Apą'nyekra band that at one time joined the Krahõ', who were uniformly friendly to this tribe. Later, the story goes, the emigrants, reinforced by a number of Krahõ', returned and settled in the region of the Alpercatas headwaters, which is known as the *travessia*. In the late summer of 1908 619 175 Kissenberth when traveling from Barra do Corda to Carolina, visited a settlement of eight huts belonging to this tribe, but did not stay more than a few hours.[100]

[161] In 1913 the approximately 150 Kénkateye living in the village of Chinello on the right bank of the Ribeirão dos Caboclos were wiped out by the fazendeiro Raymundo Arruda. With a company of fifty followers and a barrel of gin he entered the aldea to the music of an accordion, got the men drunk, put them in irons, tied them to one another, dragged them outside the village, and had his troop shoot down some fifty males. Several women were also massacred with firearms and bush-knives. Those natives who for one reason or another escaped dispersed. Fróes Abreu's account of this incident is incorrect.[101] The Indian inspector of Maranhão had the murderers put on trial, but the jury of Barra do Corda unanimously acquitted them, and even today the residents proudly point out the members of Arruda's troop who began the massacre.

619 177 114 Most of the survivors sought and found refuge with their old Krahõ' friends, among whom I saw some in 1930 at Pedra Furada. Others fled to the Apą'nyekra, and a few to the Pųkóbye and Rąmkõ'kamekra, but as an independent group they are extinct. Snethlage sets the remnants at possibly 200[102] and makes them reside on the Rio Balsas with other tribal residues—a double error. Pompeu Sobrinho is mistaken in still crediting the fraction residing among the Apą'nyekra with a chief of their own.[103]

619 101 *12. The Apą'nyekra.*—This term (or its variants Apą'nekra and Apą'nkamekra) is common to the people themselves and their neighbors. It is derived from apą'n

[99] Bruê, Carte du Brésil. Niemeyer, Carta do Imperio do Brazil.
[100] Kissenberth, Bei den Canella-Indianern, 47; Araguaya-Reise, 41.
[101] Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 225.
[102] Nordostbras. Ind., 142; on p. 116 he only speaks of "several" (*einigen*).
[103] Pompeu Sobrinho, Merrime, 5.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

name has been matrilineally transmitted until today, of the treaty, and of the tragic incidents at Caxias. But it speaks of Tempẽ''s murder, while Ribeiro ascribes his death to the smallpox. Further, the natives report the flight of the tribe into the dry forest in the angle formed by the Corda and the Ribeirão dos Porcos; and how a tribesman whose daughter had remained among the colonists acted as a go-between negotiating a new treaty of peace. This they have loyally kept; for the rebellion of 1860 against the Indian superintendent João da Cunha Alcanfor on the upper Mearim was not, as Father Bartolomeo da Monza has it, a Canella but a Guajajára uprising.[38] In the 1901 revolt of the Guajajára the Rąmkõ'kamekra furnished a contingent of 40 (not 200, as Ignace writes) warriors under chief Major Delfino Kõkaipó to aid the troops sent against the rebels.

In 1924 Snethlage spent three weeks, in 1928 Fróes Abreu four days in Ponto; I shall have frequent occasion to cite their observations. In 1929 I paid my first visit there, spending a little over a month; in 1930, 1931, 1933, 1935, and 1936 I stayed there, respectively, a little over two months, two and a half months, nearly three months, over two months, and two and a half months. Adopted as the son of the above-mentioned Delfino Kõkaipó's son, I bear his Indian name.

In 1934 lack of timber for clearings forced the Indians to abandon Ponto and to seek a new site a little farther downstream, at Baixão Preto, where a measles epidemic carried off some twenty children. Thereupon the settlement was moved to a somewhat higher altitude, but the grippe immediately demanded a number of further victims, and this scourge had not yet disappeared when the smallpox set in (1935). After the death of their principal chief, Ropką', the Indians fled in various directions, but reunited after the lapse of several months, some on the Ribeirão dos Bois, others on the Ribeirão dos Pombos. Each of these fractions obstinately insisted on the other's giving up its settlement in order to join the other. With some difficulty I persuaded them in 1936 to form a new common village on the Ribeirão da Rapoza.

The population seems to have maintained itself at a level in recent years. The census of 1919 lists Ponto with 226 inhabitants, clearly an understatement. On the other hand, Snethlage's figure of 400 for Remakokamekrãn and Sakamekrãn, that is, for Ponto in 1929, is certainly excessive. In 1933 I counted 298; in 1935 they had decreased to 265, but in 1936 they numbered close to 300.

On the speech of the three Canella tribes the following material has been published:

1819. Martius, Beiträge, 2:149. 164 words (Aponegieran-Apą'nyekra).
1902. Ignace, Les Capiecrans, 479. 36 words (Canellas, tribe not specified).
1908. Kissenberth, Bei den Canella-Indianern, 53. 46 words (Canellas of Soledade-Kénkateye).
1913. Nimuendajú, Vokabular der Timbiras. 55 words (allegedly Remakókamekrere, actually Apą'nyekra).
1924. Snethlage, Unter nordostbrasilianischen Indianern, 187 f. 399 words (Rąmkõ'kamekran).
1928. Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 201 f. 200 words and short sentences, 38 personal names (Canella of Ponto-Rąmkõ'kamekra).
1929–1930. Pompeu Sobrinho, Merrime, 17 f. 795 words (Portuguese-Canella and Canella-Portuguese). His grammatical remarks rest on dubious forms and are often positively incorrect: feminine suffix, plural by duplication, word contraction, pronominal infixation, etc.

14. The Čą'kamekra

To the northeast, beyond the watershed of the Rio Corda basin, the Rąmkõ'kamekra were bounded by the territory of their ancient enemies, the Čą'kamekra, who held the district of the Rio das Flores, a rivulet entering the Rio Mearim from the east;

[38] Bartolomeo da Monza, Massacro di Alto Alegre.

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

but they have never resided on the Rio Balsas, where Martius places them.[180] Because the dry forest already predominates in their habitat, the Neobrazilians call these people Timbiras da Matta or Matteiros. Another appellation for them, unintelligible to me, apparently used to be Terantim, which occurs as early as 1731; likewise the form Berintim.[181]

The term they themselves and the other Timbira apply is Cą´kamekra, from cąre (steppe fox [*Canis brasiliensis*]). Ribeiro's spelling "Sacamecran" and Snethlage's "Sakamekrän," though the latter's word lists twice render "tschorä" as raposa (= steppe fox). Alternative Rąmkō´kamekra terms for this people are Irómkateye (those of the forest [iróm]), and Mukúrkateye, after the Brejo da Mucura, the site of their last village.

In Ribeiro's day the Cą´kamekra were an extremely warlike tribe, which ravaged the fazendas along the Caxias-Pastos Bons route and later made navigation on the Mearim unsafe. At that time they occupied the villages of Alagoas and Pintado. After their defeat by Felix do Rego toward the close of the eighteenth century, they suffered no serious harm from any bandeira. In 1815 a part of the tribe was tricked by false proposals of peace, captured with the assistance of Capiecran, and publicly auctioned off in Caxias as slaves.

In 1818 another bandeira offered proposals for a new treaty and gifts, of which only the latter were accepted. A cargo of iron tools, which was thereupon sent them, they also accepted, but without presenting themselves to the forwarders. Finally, however a number of them went downstream in the boat, ostensibly to ratify the treaty in Caxias, but at the Remanso do Urubú they murdered the crew and fled back into the woods.

The military post of Principe Regente at the Alpercaras-Itapicurú confluence played a great part in the conflicts with both Cą´kamekra and Rąmkō´kamekra. Even before the establishment of Pastos Bons (1764) a road had been pushed onward from Caxias into this region, though Indian attacks necessitated its abandonment. During the first four years of the post, twenty members of the garrison were killed by the Indians. For three years its commandant was the oft-cited Francisco de Paula Ribeiro. In 1817 political intrigues led to its abandonment in favor of the newly laid out settlement of Almeida, fifteen kilometers below the present Picos. Thereupon the Indian attacks immediately multiplied to such an extent that even São Zacharias farther downstream had to be abandoned.[182]

The Cą´kamekra remained hostile until at least the 'forties. In 1847 mention is still made of the two Matteiro villages. In 1854 we hear of several hordes living scattered on the banks of the Mearim between the Morro do Cocal Grande (= Morro do Pontal?) and the Morro do Bezerra, that is, about between 5° 10′ and 5° 20′, as well as near Picos on the Itapicurú. In 1855 some forty were living on the Morro do Bezerra, where a number died of fever in the course of the next two years. Others moved to the Rio dos Flores while the remainder was settled at Intans, a little below the Morro do Bezerra, whence they migrated to the Canellas da Chapada (?). Rąmkō´kamekra tradition likewise tells of peace made by the Cą´kamekra many years ago; thereupon the two tribes jointly occupied one village, but disease caused them to separate again.

At all events the remnants of the Cą´kamekra reunited in the region of the upper Rio das Flores, where they constantly receded southward before the wave of settlers. In the 'nineties they lived on the Brejo da Mucura, one of the most remote

[180] Martius, Beiträge, 1:285.
[181] Annaes, 5:553, 559. Pereira do Lago, Itinerario, 421.
[182] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 36; Roteiro, 64, Nota 27. Marques, Apontamentos, 16, 27.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

L19 175 167 [99] sources of that rivulet. Unable to maintain themselves in independence, they sought and found refuge, about the turn of the century, among the Rąmkõ'kamekra, fusing with them so as to lose their separate existence. According to their own statements their ancient language was wholly identical with that of the Rąmkõ'kamekra.

15. Extinct Tribes

L19 101 114 Concerning the following four tribes, now wholly extinct, there is a complete lack of linguistic or ethnographic material. Nevertheless, judging from the references to them in the literature and in contemporary Timbira tradition, the first two were almost certainly of Timbira affiliation, the two others at least probably so.

Karēkateye.—Their name is derived from karē (mud). Their identity with the older authors' Caracategé and Canacategé is pure conjecture on my part. According to Ribeiro, the Cannaquetgê (Canaqtegê) occupied a village on the Rio Farinha until 1814.[166] In that year they asked for peace, which was denied because, as Ribeiro remarks, slaves were needed. The bandeira of São Pedro de Alcantara with Krahõ' allies attacked them, enslaved a goodly number, selling them to Pará, and caused the dispersal of the rest. On the other hand, Pinto de Magalhães represents himself and his Krahõ' as victims of the Canacategé.[167]

Subsequently the Caracategé are associated with the banks of the Grajahú immediately above the sites occupied during the past decades by the Kre'pų'mkateye. In 1851 they, jointly with the Gaviões, are located on the Grajahú between Tapera Leopoldina and Chapada (= Grajahú).[168] In 1853 they are said to reside at Jussaral on the Mearim—an unintelligible statement since, so far as that region has been known at all, its forests have been occupied only by Guajajára.

L19 174 114 These Caracategé are conceivably the ancestors of the present Kre'pų'mkateye, but it is also possible that they are identical with the Karēkateye of Rąmkõ'kamekra tradition. According to the latter, the tribal remnants joined them and were taken into their community. At certain ceremonies of the tamhą'k (p. 217), where the inhabitants of Ponto figure according to their tribal descent, the descendants of the Karēkateye still form a separate little group, with a site on the north-northwest side of the plaza, suggesting that their forefathers had immigrated from that direction. This would tally absolutely with the identity of the Karēkateye and the Caracategé of the Rio Grajahú. On the other hand, their equation with the Canacategé of the Rio Farinha would have put them on the west-southwest side, contrary to the observed facts.

L19 101 131 *The Krõ'rekamekra.*—The remnants of this people were adopted by the Rąmkõ'kamekra under similar circumstances. Their leader at the time is said to have been a great singer. In the tamhą'k ceremonial the very few descendants of this tribe stand on the southwest side of the plaza, in consonance with their original habitat. Pinto de Magalhães[169] lists the Crurê-Camecran with nine (subtracting synonyms, only five) other tribes as living in the region north of São Pedro de Alcantara and bounded in the west by the Tocantins, in the east by the watershed, in the north by the tropical forest zone, 5° 10′; the tribe is said to be hostile to the Krahõ'. Pohl also places the Crurecamecrans on the east bank of the Tocantins, whereas Martius[170] and Cazal merely mention them as Crurecamecrans and Crorécamecrans.

Krõre in Timbira signifies the taitetú pig (*Dicotyles labiatus*).

[166] Ribeiro, Memoria, §§ 70, 83; Roteiro, 46.
[167] Almeida, Carolina, 52.
[168] Marques, Apontamentos, "Indios."
[169] Almeida, Carolina, 55.
[170] Martius, Beiträge, 2:264. Cazal, Chorographia, 2:293. Pohl, Reise, 2:211.

[1 i.e. the Cą'kamekra --- Analyst.]

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

II. ECOLOGY

Settlements and Houses

361 182 *Settlements.*—One of the most characteristic features of Timbira culture—in the natives' own opinion—is the circular village plan. So long as their aboriginal life retains a spark of vitality they cling to this mode of settlement, which is most intimately bound up with their socioceremonial organization. Notwithstanding their ignorance of Indian usage, the Baptist missionaries in Brazil correctly recognized the social significance of this feature and did their utmost to effect its abandonment; for as long as it survives the ancient social order, too, lives on, and within that there is no place for missionaries. When the Canella transplanted their village to the site of Ponto in 1924, the Indian agent in Barra do Corda likewise tried to convince them that straight streets were far more beautiful, but he had the good sense to desist when the Indians vigorously spurned the proposal.

361 171 114 Snethlage has it that Pereira do Lago ascribes circular villages to the Gamella of Vianna, and Ferreira Gomes to the Krahõ', while Ribeiro is supposed to credit a semilunar form to the Timbira of Goyaz.[234] Actually Pereira merely reports round Gamella *huts*, without saying a word about their arrangement. Ribeiro, on the other hand, after stating that the Timbira encampments and settlements were invariably circular, goes on to say: "Alguns Indios de Goyaz edificam em meiea lua." This doubtless refers to the horseshoe shape of Šavánte-Šerénte villages. Finally, Ferreira Gomes, though mentioning circular settlements for the Krẽyé (then still near Imperatriz), never got to see any Krahõ', as he explicitly states: "... tres aldeas de indigenos mansos os quaes não foram vistos por mim .... estes indigenas são de duas nações, caraúś e chavantes."[235]

361 183 The village (krĩ) site must fulfill the following conditions:

1. It must be level. Since level ground of adequate extent is hardly to be found on the slope in the direction of the watercourses, the villages are all situated on the level of the steppe, usually at the end of a spur projecting into the angle between two converging streams.

2. The ground should be neither rocky nor sandy, but represent an outcrop of hard clay, for on sand or rubble barefoot folk cannot dance in comfort, especially if they indulge with Timbira perseverance.

3. The site must not be too far from the water supply, though a difference of a kilometer does not matter.

4. There must be an adequate *galeria* forest near by to provide clearings for a number of years. When the annual tree-felling has deforested the land to the distance of, say, twelve kilometers from the village, the settlement is transferred to a new site that has a sufficiency of timber in the vicinity.

5. Finally, attention is paid to freedom from fever, in which respect the Timbira steppes are, as a rule, favorably situated.

361 363 621 Ponto may serve as a typical steppe Timbira settlement. To be sure, its form lacks the geometrical perfection credited to it in Fróes Abreu's plan, and this author likewise fails to indicate that the village is elevated above the plain.[236] In 1930 it comprised thirty-one houses (ikré), all of whose broad sides faced the plaza. The diameter of the circle was 300 m. Along the front façade of the houses there extends all around the plaza a street (krĩkapẽ') of irregular width; it shall henceforth be designated as the "boulevard" (fig. 1). Its minimum width may be set at about 7 m. In front of the houses of the two vụ'tẹ' girls (see p. 92), which always lie opposite each other, the boulevard expands into a small dance ground. Because of

[234] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 152.
[235] Ferreira Gomes, Itinerario, 490, 495.
[236] Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 99, 168.

1; Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1948 SO8 Timbira SO8

Further, it is necessary to correct some errors that have crept into the literature concerning Timbira hairdressing. Notwithstanding assertions by Kissenberth and Snethlage,[28] who oddly agree on this, the Canella never cut their hair in mourning; the exact contrary holds, as demonstrated in plate 7, *b*. Moreover, as proved by dozens of my pictures, women and children dress the hair in exactly the same fashion as the men; Snethlage thus errs in declaring that they merely comb their hair away from the face or cut it above the forehead. Oil paintings by the Dutch artist Eckhout which are in the National Museum of Copenhagen suggest that the Otahukayana of Rio Grande do Norte also wore the hair furrow in the seventeenth century. (See pl. 21.) The occipital hair of the Timbira is never braided into a pigtail; a little grass fanlike ornament (hivakũi) (pl. 20, *b*) merely serves to ligature the bunch of occipital hair. A person with very long hair may gather it together, lay the tip up on the back of the head, and secure it there with string. However, this custom—like the use of the hivakũi—is peculiar to men about to engage in a particularly difficult undertaking—formerly, above all when going to battle; and as soon as anyone is seen indulging in the practice he is immediately questioned by everybody as to his plans.

No man's hair is cut by another. The task devolves primarily on his mother, his sisters, female cousins and nieces; his wife may tend to the matter provided it is not a ceremonial cut at the close of a period of mourning or seclusion. Because of this rule men who have been away for a long time have the furrow completely obliterated by the new growth of hair. On their begging trips, however, they usually fall into the hands of some civilized barber who spoils their coiffure for the period of several months.

No attention is paid to the clipped hair, which they either allow to lie about or throw on the garbage, for the Eastern Timbira and the Apinayé do not share the widespread Indian belief that fragments severed from the body can be used in sorcery. On the other hand, the Rąmkõ'kamekra believe that a person who has secured another's hair from the temples thereby is certain of being loved by him or her, for which reason such hair is sometimes clipped clandestinely. The hair cut from women's occiputs at certain festivals is united in a long bundle and hung on a tree in front of the village, whence I was able to carry it off at will. Several times I received the present of a neck-and-forehead ornament consisting of hair tufts mounted brushlike in feather quills or small bamboo tubes.

The Canella have double combs (koiké) composed of little rods (pl. 20, *a*), but today they serve only ceremonial purposes; a norm based on the length of the rods is used in the manufacturing. For practical purposes these combs have been superseded by those of European and Neobrazilian make, but several men, for example, chief Ropką', are themselves able to produce such modern combs out of horn, and these prove far more durable than the purchased articles, which very soon lose their tines in the thick Indian hair.

The people pay a fair amount of attention to their hair. They wash it while bathing by rubbing it between the palms of their hands, and oil it with the oleaginous juice of chewed babassu seeds, which is spat into their hands and then rubbed on the hair. The very greasy beetle larvae that live within the seeds are crushed between the palms and then also used for oiling the hair. Head lice (ikó) occur, especially among children, but have long ceased to be general. I am positive that a considerable number of adults lack them. Anyone becoming aware of lice has his wife or some kinswoman look for them; this person puts them on the palm of her hands

[28] Kissenberth, Bei den Canella-Indianern, 48. Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 148.

1s Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1948 SOS Timbira SOS
6e.545

T 356 412

twigs tied together. Garbage is accumulated on the firefan or an old mat and carried to the border of the steppe, to the rear of the house. However, there are women who are not particular about a little dirt more or less, and who will leave the rinds of fruits and gnawed bones lying about all day long.

T 356 751

The domestic vermin include crickets, cockroaches, small ants, and jiggers. The first two are simply put up with. As for ant nests, the Indians try to destroy them with hot water; and as soon as they become aware of jiggers, they periodically pour water on the floor, which they stamp on till it grows firm. Those which have penetrated the skin are removed with a bone needle—for which at present an iron one may be substituted.

T 264 515

All utensils are rather dirty, for it never occurs to them to clean objects before storage. The clothing that is obligatory on visits to Barra do Corda is subsequently stowed away for one's own or another's future use without attention to the accumulated dirt and perspiration. Dishes are never washed after use, though this is done before again using them. Storage bags and sleeping mats are often filthy, though the latter are washed when the dirt grows too offensive.

T 514

The Indians go to stool in the steppe or in the mallow bushes to the rear of their houses, at an adequate distance. They clean themselves with kerneled maize cobs or with two little sticks broken off on the way. The feces of infants in the house or on the space before it are at once strewn with sand and removed.

T [828]

The Canella are very sensitive as to evil smells, though they do not always perceive the same things as stench as civilized people. As noted, they regard as pleasant the odor of urucú, from which Neobrazilians recoil, and they are strangely indifferent to the odor of the skunk (*Mephitis suffocans*), which to my nostrils is the most horrible to be found in the Timbira country. However, excrements and putrefying matter are intolerable to them and are removed posthaste.

T 827 516

Breaking wind is considered indecorous indoors, but rather a pleasure on the steppe or in the plaza among the younger generation. Indeed, young girls sometimes vie with one another in this respect and try to enhance the effect by hitting their own buttocks with their clenched fists. However, this happens only among themselves, never in the presence of older people.

G T 177 241 114

Farming

It is erroneous to picture the Gê generically as hunters and gatherers, with at best an occasional group adopting a little cultivation under Tupí influence.[39] Actually, not a single Akwẽ or Timbira-Kayapó tribe failed to farm; and as to the latter, at least, I am convinced that they learnt nothing from the Tupí about agriculture. Old travelers sometimes decree that such and such a tribe lived "only by hunting" or even "by robbery only." Thus, Saint-Adolphe alleges that the Apinayé had grown accustomed to a vegetable diet only through the plantations made by the military colony of São João de Araguaya (founded in 1797). He overlooked the passage in which Villa Real—four years prior to the establishment of that colony—urged a treaty of peace with the Apinayé on the ground of their cultivating manioc on a large scale.[40]

T 241 177 114

Following Ribeiro and Pohl, Snethlage states that the Timbira when first in contact with civilization already practiced a well-defined system of tillage and rightly surmises that the four species listed by Ribeiro do not exhaust the number of their crops. At present the Rąmkõ'kamekra plant the following species, which shall be

[39] For a typical expression of this view see Schmidt, Kulturkreise und Kulturschichten in Südamerika, 1023.

[40] Viagem, 409.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

Ge SLS

divided (according to their own account) into those anciently known and those adopted after intercourse with Neobrazilians.

Aboriginally known:

Maize, põhỳ (*Zea mays*)	Ground nut, kahỳ (*Arachis* sp.)
Sweet potato, yąt (*Batatas edulis*)	[European name lacking], kupá (*Cissus* sp.)
Yam, krẽrõ' (*Dioscorea* sp.)	Cotton, kačą't (*Gossypium* sp.)
Manioc, kwỳr (*Manihot utilissima*)	Bottle gourd, kõkõn (*Lagenaria* sp.)
Sweet manioc, kwỳr-kahą't (*Manihot aipi*)	Cuyeté, kõ'tõé (*Crescentia* sp.)
Horse bean, pąnkrỳ' (*Phaseolus* sp.)	Cuya de rama, ——— (*Cucurbita* sp.)
Arrowroot, kurúare (*Maranta* sp.)	Urucú, pỳ (*Bixa orellana*)
Gourd, kõkõnkahą't (*Cucurbita* sp.)	

Adopted after intercourse with Neobrazilians:

Rice	Beans	Pineapple
Watermelon	Orange	Tobacco
Banana	Lemon	Timguy (fish poison)
Sugar-cane	Mango	
Cayenne pepper	Papaya	

The only plant-origin myth relates to maize and coincides with the Apinayé equivalent.[145] It combines two principal motives—the world tree and the star wife. The former occurs among Carib peoples of Guiana, having been recorded by Koch-Grünberg among the Taulipáng, by Brett among the Akawoí, by Im Thurn and Roth for the Carib proper, while Nordenskiöld reports it from the Arawakan Čáne of the northern Chaco. The other motive seems to be derived from the Šerénte, who far more logically connect it not with the origin of maize, but with a visit to the sky.

Nordenskiöld derives Gê yąt (sweet potato) from Tupí yetỳ'k, which is supposed to point to a transmission of the species from the Tupí. I consider this highly improbable, for the Northwestern Gê would never have lopped off an accented syllable, but would presumably have transmuted the hypothetical loan-word into yetí (cf. below as to the assimilation of Tupí tapití). Further, there is a striking fact: Tupí agriculture stresses maize and manioc, the Northwestern and Central Gê emphasize sweet potatoes and yams, which virtually furnish their daily bread but play a more modest role among the Tupí.

In my description of Apinayé tillage I noted that the Northwestern and Central Gê probably did not acquire manioc from either the Tupí or the Karayá, whose methods of employment and preparation are totally distinct.[146] Against such borrowing may further be cited the term kwỳr, uniformly distributed as it is over the entire Northwestern branch, from the Suyá to the remotest Timbira tribes. From Ribeiro's denial of the Krahõ' Indians' familiarity with *the preparation of flour*—"farinha de pau," that is, flour from unfermented manioc[147]—it does not by any means follow, as Snethlage assumes,[148] that they lacked manioc altogether. For they may very well have used it as they do today, in the form of pies baked in earth ovens. In recent times the Eastern Timbira have adopted the preparation of flour together with the basketry press, not from the Tupí-Guajajára, but from Neobrazilians. This is indicated by their designating this utensil not by the Guajajára term tipiti, but by its disfigured Neobrazilian form tapití, assimilated to Timbira phonology as tapti. They further give to the roasting pan its Portuguese name, forno.

The species of arrowroot planted by the Rąmkõ'kamekra differs from the Neobrazilian form.

[145] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 165–167.
[146] *Ibid.*, 88.
[147] Memoria, § 73.
[148] Nordostbras. Ind., 162.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

but remained standing aloof. But after the spoils had been piled up, a tamhą'k went there to select a portion for himself and his fellow members, and they then distributed it among themselves.

If the hunting party had killed a tapir, all persons within reach gathered round the carcass, and an old man selected as vigorous a young tamhą'k as could be found. The man chosen set off his occipital hair by tying in the manner explained, and painted the oral region with charcoal powder; whereupon the old man stuck a wad of cotton between the tamhą'k's lips. For evisceration the beast was laid, belly up, on palm leaves, then a knife was ground and put on the game. The tamhą'k stepped up, seized the knife, slowly made a single downward incision in the skin, cutting chest and belly, and redeposited the blade. The object of this performance was to render the tapir fat when dissected. The old man thereupon handed the animal's liver to one of the tamhą'k's relatives, who had a pie, ku'kú'ti, prepared from it, which the young men brought to the elders in the plaza.

The killer of a jaguar screamed beside the carcass until one of his hunting companions approached, took away the hunter's weapon, whether bow or gun, and gave him his own in exchange. The hunter distributed the skin among the bravest men, who used it for armlets on their upper arms.

The sun is considered the protector of game animals, which are thus commended to his care: Of a late afternoon an old man summoned the men to form a circle round him in the plaza. He stood resting on a stick, faced east, turning his back to the solar disk, and prayed: "Kédeti imą̃ prire kuna yamãke imą̃ katí vakokú ruité a'nã ató impey!" Approximately this means: "May the Grandfather [sun] protect all beasts so they grow up and can be eaten by man." Then the suppliant successively enumerated the long series of species whose welfare he commended to the sun.

Fishing

Fishing is but slightly developed among the Timbira. Its economic insignificance has been noted by Snethlage, too.[39] Even with tribes like the Kre'pų'mkateye and the Timbira of Araparytíua, who live directly on the banks of sizable rivers, fishing plays a subordinate role. As for the steppe Timbira, the brooks near their settlements furnish only small fish in moderate quantities, so that a family could hardly ever eat its fill from the produce of a catch. Fishing was naturally eliminated for the Krĩkatí, who dipped up their water supply from water holes. However, in special cases certain small species form the prescribed diet.

Fish are secured by shooting with arrows (pl. 16, *h*, *i*), with a line, and (after drugging) with a scoop net (pl. 17, *e*). Fish spears and anchored nets are lacking, as are basketry traps and the "pari" traps frequent among the Tupí tribes and also found among the Apinayé. The fish arrows are sometimes, but not as a rule, without feathers. They are generally marked by the greater length of their gynerium shafts and bear simple barbed points. Harpoon darts and arrows with several points are unknown.

Tradition does not report aboriginal fishhooks. Those now in use are of iron, mostly from North America, and are designated by the term ãyó, derived from Portuguese *anzol*. The Indians themselves manufacture the line from tucum fiber. Angling devolves mainly on the children, women, and old men.

The Rąmkõ'kamekra poison fish with the plant now cultivated by them and called kalón by the Timbira, the timguy of the Neobrazilians, from whom the Indians borrowed it. Another fish drug, less used at present, but in my opinion

[39] Nordostbras. Ind., 160.

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

aboriginal, is the forest creeper the Timbira call ha'kró, the Neobrazilians timbó. The Indians tear it out with the roots, then wash off the earth, and tap the root on a log with an appropriate stick so as to separate the fibers. While some rinse the fiber balls in the water of the creek, others wait downstream in order to seize with their hands the stupefied fish as they drift along, or spit them on arrows, or catch the smaller fry with a scoop net, krį, this last being a conical net mounted on a hoop without a handle. My reason for regarding it as aboriginal is that, while lacking among both the Guajajára and Neobrazilians, it appears in the same form with the identical designation among the Eastern (Rąmkõ'kamekra, Pụkóbye, Kre'pụ'mkateye) and Western Timbira. The small fish are collected in gourd bowls or little baskets, the larger ones are ranged on special cords, tepčečą, with a wooden tip at one end and a transverse stick at the other (fig. 6).

In drugging fish, too, they like to select a young tamhą'k, who is the first to enter the water when the stupefied fish begin to appear, while the other Indians wait on

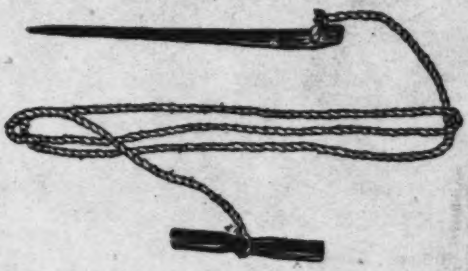


Fig. 6. Cord for stringing fish. Approx. ½ nat. size.

the bank. He spits the first three fish on his arrow, signalling for each by a shout, to which the others respond by screaming and the blowing of trumpets. Then he leaves the water and hands the fish to an old man, while everyone starts gathering the spoils.

Gathering

Gathering is indissolubly linked with nomadic or seminomadic life. Farmers in a restricted territory, like the present Timbira, cannot gather in the steppe with any measure of profit.

However, though this source of food has shrunk almost to the insignificance of fishing through the progress of agriculture and the restriction of the habitat, the Rąmkõ'kamekra still pray to the sun to protect the steppe fruits and let them grow to gladden men's hearts. This is done somewhat differently than in the corresponding prayer for game, though in almost identical words. The speaker was the oldest man of the entire tribe. He went to the plaza in the morning, rested one knee on the ground, stretched out an empty gourd bowl toward the sun, and said, "Kédeti imą ampó čo yamã ke imã hokati vayakrį'."

Before rice and manioc flour were available, when the tribal territory was about twenty times its present extent, the gathering of steppe and *galeria* fruits was perhaps proportionately greater. Ribeiro,[100] who evidently observed the Timbira with special frequency during their migratory period, enumerates the following among their wild fruits:

[100] Memoria, § 11.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

553 595 616 611

the names of different plaza groups—in one case, even of distinct plaza moieties—to the same recipient.

Of twenty males, only four acquired their names from several donors. On the other hand, half of an equal number of females obtained theirs in this fashion, though only a single case involved a change of the rainy season moiety.

The woman numbered 20 below obtained the name Kra'napan, by which she is generally known, from the neighboring Krẽyé of Bacabal. This name is not to be transferred.

The list on pages 80, 81, and 82 gives the name series of twenty men and of twenty women with plaza group and rainy season moiety affiliations. Those names transferred by a single person are bracketed.

Some additional facts concerning name transference are given below.

Mĩkrõ'-Kapẽrtụ'k-Kopẽkré transferred his first name to the son of his sister's daughter. He hoped to pass on his other names to two other great-nephews, but had only one other, Čikapró, who had already received a name from another kinsman. After his great-uncle's death Mĩkrõ' junior claimed the two remaining names without himself using them, but with the prerogative of transferring them.

Terekwẹ'i-Piekóm passed on her first name to her paternal grandfather's daughter's son's daughter and died before being able to transfer the second. Terekwẹ'i junior claims the name Piekóm, but it must die with her because her brother's daughters have already all received names from other kinswomen.

Wakái did not pass his name on to his sister's son because he had no daughter on whom his sister Piekạ'ra might bestow her names.

Yaučẽkẹ' did not transfer her name to her brother's daughter because she died before her niece's birth.

Exogamous Moieties

616

Each of these moieties occupies one-half of the village—the kọ'ikateye (kọ'i = east, hence: those of the east) the eastern part of the circle, the harã'kateye (harã = west, hence: those of the west) the western part, which in Ponto was somewhat larger. The children all belong to the mother's moiety. Although about a third of contemporary marriages are within the same moiety and the younger generation in part even deny the reality of the exogamous rule, the older people deprecate such shamelessness and the preponderance of exogamous unions among them proves that the principle survived until not very long ago.

The moieties are altogether equal in rank; specifically, the eastern moiety is in no way superior. Unlike the Šerénte equivalents the Canella units are not associated with sun and moon. Further, members are not distinguished by any external badges, and there is no trace of totemism.

616 182

The moieties under discussion centered solely in the maintenance of exogamy; their ceremonial significance is practically nil. Their decadence is probably due not so much to Neobrazilian influence or the diminishing population as to the pronounced predilection of the Canella for special dual divisions in connection with ceremonial. Comparison with the organization of other tribes suggests that the functions now allotted to the rainy season and the plaza moieties, respectively, were formerly associated with the *exogamous* moieties. The creation of independent dual divisions for these purposes inevitably stripped the exogamous halves of much of their importance.

616 114

Snethlage erroneously ascribes a separate chief to each of the moieties and wrongly regards the age classes as their subdivisions, whereas any one age class embraces members of both moieties. It is not true that the first and the second chiefs

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS
Awei Kayapo SM 2

T
616
553

FEMALES

Names	Rainy season moiety	Names	Rainy season moiety
14. Kapẽrkwę'i	ką'	19. Nyõkí	ką'
Kąyarí	ką'	Paśédn	ką'
		Rekwę'i	ką'
15. Kąryapą	atų'k	Rõtí	ką'
Nyõkąnkré	atų'k		
		20. Nyõ'hoedí	ką'
16. Kõrẽ'dn	atų'k	Hakatą'i	ką'
Yątkró	atų'k	Krą'napą'n	ką'
Kotó	atų'k	Tekurą'	ką'
		Yekutá	ką'
17. Ikurẽ	atų'k	Kahẽrkwę'i	ką'
Teprã	ką'	Pahĩk	ką'
Yoãą'n	ką'		
18. Yõkrąnkré	ką'		
Teprã	ką'		

T
616
114

of Ponto represent complementary exogamous units for they happen to be brothers. Nor can I understand the same author's report of a dispute over trespass between two eminent men of different moieties, for the land is not the property of the moieties, but of the tribe, that is, of the village community. Finally, the assertion that each moiety is "under the supreme rule of the commandant of its age class" reveals a basic misunderstanding.[207]

T
616
171

While the matrilineal moieties of the Apinayé do not regulate marriage,[208] comparable organizations occur in other parts of Brazil. According to a provisional statement of Claude Lévi-Strauss's researches, the Tupí of the Machado River have exogamous patrilineal moieties coupled with a double division in age classes.[209] The Šerénte have exogamous patrilineal moieties associated with north and south and subdivided into clans localized in the village.[210] The Eastern Bororó also have a southern and northern moiety, but with maternal descent; each embraces seven localized clans.[211] The Tukuna have patrilineal moieties with fifteen and twenty-one clans, none of them localized.[212] The Parintintin also have unlocalized patrilineal moieties.[213] The patrilineal moieties of the Mundurucú are split up into nineteen and fifteen clans, respectively.[214] Tembé Indians of the Rio Acará interviewed by Estevão de Oliveira made statements suggesting patrilineal localized moieties (east and west).

A
616

According to my own investigations, the Kaingang proper trace their descent from two heroes, Kamé and Kanyerú, associated with patrilineal, unlocalized moieties having distinctive decorative paint. The Kamé moiety is characterized by a pattern of lines, its complement by dotted decoration. Further, each moiety is subdivided into at least three classes, which modify the moiety designs: the paí apply

[207] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 167–169.
[208] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 21.
[209] Métraux, 34.
[210] Nimuendajú and Lowie, Associations of Šerénte, 408 *et seq.*
[211] Colbacchini, 1–30. Cf. Lévi-Strauss, 269–304.
[212] Nimuendajú, Idiomas, 188.
[213] *Idem.*, The Gamella, 235.
[214] P. Kruse, 18, 19.

1c Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 2C8 Timbira 2C8

The festive societies and the King Vultures (p. 98 f.) render similar assistance to *their* members.

But while the growth of agriculture adds to the practical work of the classes, there is diminution by the lessening importance of the communal hunts and the complete elimination of war raids.

Corrections.—Some of my own earliest statements, as well as some of Snethlage's, require explicit correction.[178]

The complete initiation requires not three to five, but about ten years; the number of class leaders is two, not one; not the three, but the four youngest classes are actively engaged in sport; the terms kõ'ikateyẽ and harãkateye do not—in this connection—designate the exogamous moieties, but their namesakes, the eastern and western class moieties; the classes meet in the houses of their vų'tę', not of their commandants.

It is quite wrong to speak, as Snethlage does, of a "men's tribal society" into which boys and youths are admitted after numerous tests and ceremonies. The total number of age classes is indefinite, and their totality does not constitute one grand organization. Further, the commandants do not form the elders' council which is really made up of the survivors of no longer athletically active classes, irrespective of their previous incumbency as commandants. As already explained, an exogamous moiety is not headed by "the commandant of its (?) age class," for it has no headman at all. Finally, it is thoroughly confusing to say that a married man continues to take part in the activities of his age class, *"which does not admit his wife's brothers."* Since the classes have nothing to do with the exogamous moieties but are each composed of age mates of *both* moieties, a man and his brothers-in-law may very well belong to a single class.

The Men's Societies[179]

There are six organized men's societies, which appear only during certain festivals. They are: rop, Jaguars; kukén, Agoutis; koikayú, Ducks; hąk, Falcons; kõkrį'ť, Water Monster (masqueraders); me'kẽ'n, Aquatic Birds (buffoons). For convenience the last two may be referred to as Mummers and Clowns, respectively.

Possibly the Fish companies at the tepyarkwá festival and the hõčwá at the sweet-potato ceremony might also be reckoned under this head. Not so the King Vultures, who must be put into a different category (p. 98).

The societies are referred to as me'kwę', a term also applied to the age classes. A man will say, "meikwę' pẽ kukén," I belong to the Agouti society. Usually a society has some thirty members. Except for the Clowns, the organizations are entered by virtue of one's names (p. 77). Many Indians simultaneously belong to more than one society, but in that case the several societies are usually such as are not obliged to appear at the same time. For instance, one Tunkõ' is a Falcon, a Jaguar, and a Mummer. In addition he also served as a substitute for the Little Falcon in the terminal ceremony of the vų'tę' season and was head of the King Vultures.

Each society has a head appointed by the council and called hõpa'hí, like the tribal chiefs. He is chosen for his gaiety and eloquence, being expected to infuse life into the festive proceedings.

Though women are not admitted to regular membership, each society has two girl associates, mekuičwę'i. There is no indication that they anciently represented

[178] Nimuendajú, Bruchstücke, 671. Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 167, 169, 170.

[179] These societies evidently are quite distinct in function from the ferente men's organizations. See Nimuendajú, The Serente, 59–64. R. H. L.

1[i.e. collective labor in harvesting ---Analyst.]

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

Accordingly rape was unknown, the only contrary instance being that of an Indian who had been intoxicated to senselessness in a Neobrazilian house; on the way home he ravished his twelve-year old daughter, but on coming to he had not the slightest recollection of his deed.

DAILY DANCES

The relations of the young people of opposite sex are best illustrated by their joint dances in the plaza, which normally take place three times every day during the ceremonial season. The party includes as participants:

1. The precentor, ikrérekaté. Of this category the Canella have two or three good representatives and a number of mediocre ones. The younger ones who show talent are instructed by the older precentors, at whose side they appear. A worthy precentor requires a good voice, a good memory for the innumerable dance songs, and bodily endurance. His instrument is the dance rattle, ko'tõi, made of the rind, usually painted red, of a *Crescentia cuiete*, mounted on a wooden handle that projects above as an elongated tip, by which the rattle can be planted in the ground (pl. 32, *b*, *c*). At the grip end a rectangular hole in the handle permits the insertion of a plaited wrist loop, which has a long tassel. The precentor is by no means a medicine-man nor has his rattle the slightest religious significance, as Abreu erroneously assumes.[111]

A remarkable description of the rattle wielded by a Põrekamekra precentor is given by Pohl: "This [precentor] carried in his right hand a ¾-yard-long staff along which a blackened coconut shell could be pushed up and down by the movement of the body. Within the shell were maize kernels, which produced a loud noise." I have never seen such an instrument, which recalls the "taran" observed by Snethlage among the Moré of the upper Madeira region. But Pohl does not seem to have closely viewed the object he describes, for it could hardly have been a "coconut shell" and the "maize kernels" were presumably the black pamtiỵ seeds which both the Eastern and Western Timbira exclusively use and specially cultivate for this purpose.

The precentor generally wears a forehead band, a neck band with a tassel for the back of the neck, sashes across the chest, sometimes cotton bracelets—never a loincloth such as Jurandyr Paes Leme paints in representing a Ponto dance.[112]

2. The precentress, mehõkrepúi, has already been referred to (p. 97).

3. The girls from about their seventh year until at least their first pregnancy. Many a woman eagerly participates even subsequently so far as the care of her infant permits. On the other hand, women of the critical age or grandmothers never take part.

4. The males comprise at least the older members of the unofficial boys' class and the two junior official classes, mepantúa.

If the youths are otherwise engaged, the girls will dance by themselves, but this is certainly not the normal thing, contrary to what might be inferred from Snethlage's and Abreu's reports, both of which mention only the dancing girls and the precentor, saying nothing about the participation of young men. Indeed, Snethlage goes so far as to speak of a "women's dance."[113]

[111] Frões Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 180, 182.

[112] Frões Abreu, op. cit., 182. Pohl, Reise, 2:201. "Dieser trug in der Rechten einen drey viertel Ellen langen Stab, an welchem eine schwarz gefärbte Kokosschale durch die Bewegung des Körpers auf und niedergeschoben werden konnte. In der Schale waren Maiskörner, welche ein lautes Geräusche verursachten."

[113] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 180.

1: Nimuendaju E-S (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

765 152

deceased than she quite suddenly falls to blubbering rhythmically for several minutes. Such lamentation is indispensable if some tribesman arrives whom the mourner has not seen since her loss or who has been away for some time. In the latter case—as whenever I myself return—another idea coöperates: sympathy with the homecoming traveler, who is supposed to have been exposed to all manner of privations, maltreatment, and dangers during his absence. He seats himself on the mat as described above, his kinswomen lay their heads or arms against his shoulder and bawl in the way indicated, actually shedding tears, and some of them working themselves into a profound state of excitement. On one occasion a mother gave vent to sentiments of despondent grief when she caught sight of a feather ornament given me by her daughter, who had died during my absence.

During major festivals lamentations of this sort are always to be heard emanating from some house or other: The inmates remember some dead relative who would have played a part in the present proceedings if still alive or recall a child on whom the role should have devolved. At major log races I have several times seen some age-class throw down the log and then at once trot over to the maternal home of their deceased champion runner in order to join his relatives in bewailing him.

DIVISION OF LABOR

462 178

As superficial observers are wont to do, Fróes Abreu alleges that Rąmkõ'kamekra men lead a life of idleness while women labor.[329] As stated in the relevant sections, all hard work—the clearing of woods, hunting, war—devolves solely on the men, who moreover take part in a series of supplementary activities. It is true that the development of agriculture, the recession of the chase, and the elimination of war have increased feminine work and diminished masculine obligations. On the other hand, women hardly gather wild fruits any more and the construction of more substantial houses, along with the rise of a by no means insignificant home industry has added to masculine labor. Abreu declares that the women manufacture baskets and mats (p. 180), yet pictures a matmaking man (p. 58)! His statement holds only for certain special types of basketry; others and also mats, the most important article for trade, are never made by women. Burity mats, large, rectangular food bags and lidded suspension pouches are for the most part of Rąmkõ'kamekra, in small measure of Apą'nyekra, provenience. They are found in pretty nearly all houses of the central interior of Maranhão and especially in the shops of Barra do Cordo. This industry fails to develop more rapidly for the solitary reason that all trading between the Rąmkõ'kamekra and the whites is aimed at mutual cheating.

[114]

285 438

562

The most one can say is that as the children's caretaker and the sole laborer at domestic chores woman is more constantly employed than man. In any case she is far too independent by virtue of her social status to turn into an idle husband's beast of labor.

DIVORCE

586 [733]

Only a few reasons warrant the rupture of marriage with a virgin—barrenness, grave maltreatment, and adultery. As for the first-mentioned ground, I know of only one case, and even there I gained the impression that the wife's sterility was a pretext rather than the real reason. Excessive abuse of a woman led to divorce in a few instances, all of them the result of alcoholism. Adultery on either side is the commonest reason, though, as among the Apinayé, many spouses are willing to overlook a mate's straying from the narrow path. However, Abreu exaggerates beyond all reason in alleging that "as Canellos desconhecem a fidelidade conjugal"

[329] Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 179.

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8
Ge SLS

526
191
114

and have been extinct since the eighteenth century. Contrary to Ehrenreich, Schuller[1] proved that they were not Gê; and I doubt likewise that they belonged to the Karirí stock.

In shifting their encampment these people raced from the old site to the new one. The two logs were laid on the ground a stone's throw from the chief's hut and at a distance of two paces from each other. The racers stepped up in two teams (*in duas turmas divisus*) and each team selected its strongest member to have the log placed on his neck, whereupon he dashed off with it, relieved by his fellows in the course of the race. The victors called the vanquished names and hissed at them. A crude sketch, hardly in harmony with the text, accompanied it.

In 1647 Roulox Baro started on his journey to the Otshukayana, whom he apparently met beyond the sources of the Potengy, and marched toward the coast with them. During his nearly three months' companionship he repeatedly witnessed log races: "*On courut l'arbre*" is a frequently recurring entry in his diary. A several weeks' racing season formed the prelude to a great festival, at which boys had their ears pierced, and marriageable youths their lower lips and cheeks. I am not quite clear whether the terminal ceremony actually involved a collective wedding of these young men. At all events, this eyewitness, too, does not represent the log race as a trial of marriageability. The chief Jandhuy, over a hundred years old, also took part. The two logs were extraordinarily long—22 ft.—and consisted of barked, smoothed tree trunks. Baro also reports a race from an old to a new camp site. The race opening the festive period assumed a remarkable form. Prior to the event the Indians had caught numerous rats (*Cavia perea?*) for the purpose, and these were liberated to be pursued and killed by the log runners—by what means is not stated. Snethlage supposes that the logs were hurled at them, but throwing 6-m. long trunks after fleeing rats is not a likely procedure. Perhaps they were trampled to death.[2]

Barlaeus, whose statements do not rest on personal observations, strikes me as an untrustworthy source on many points relating to Indians. For instance, he tells how the Otshukayana go to their huts "sambt Weib, Kind, Knechten, Karrn und Wagen, daruf sie ihr Geräth führen." Plötz and Métraux interpret one passage to mean that the victorious log racers became war leaders; but "victorem cohortes sequuntur" may possibly mean no more than that the teams ran behind the champion. The German edition states: "Wer nun den andern zuvorthut, dem folgen alle beyde Hauffen, und begeben sich also miteinander auf den Weg."[3]

In any case, there can be no doubt that the Otshukayana log races, like those of the Timbira and Šerénte, represented a competitive sport between two teams.

Though the three oldest sources on the Otshukayana say nothing about any connection between log races and matrimony, Carrilho de Andrade some seventy years later discovered something of the sort. He writes of the Yandois, that is, Otshukayana, and the Pyacús, that is, Payacú, presumably as of 1699 or 1700. The Payacú, now extinct, spoke an unidentified language and lived in the present states of Rio Grande do Norte and Ceará, on the Rio Apody and west thereof as far as the Rio Choró. Perhaps they are identical with the Pajoke or the tribe whose chief during the Dutch period was Pajuku. Carrilho reports:

> Eyxercitão se desde mininos Em destrezas, Eforsaas, com o lutar; correr, saltar, Eleuantando grandes pezos aos onbros, correm tres Ecoatro llegoes sem descansar, Edesta sorte ganhão premios que Entre Elles, os mayores, uem á ser mossas formosas por molheres.

[1] Ehrenreich, Ueber einige Bildnisse, chap. 4. Schuller, Affinität der Tapuya-Indianer.
[2] Baro, Relation de voyage, 220, 224. Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 183.
[3] Barlaeus, Brasilianische Geschichte, 95, 695. *Idem.*, Berum, 253. Plötz and Métraux, 279.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

421 A particular tribe, then, owns certain rivulets and creeks with their affluents and
423 the important correlated *galeria* forests; the next creek and its adjacent area, be-
419 yond the watershed, belongs to the neighboring tribe. Thus the ancient boundary
101 between the Rąmkõ'kamekra and the Apą'nyekra was formed by the watershed between the large Papagaio and Porcos creeks, two affluents of the Rio Corda. The entire district drained by the Flores, a rivulet tributary to the Mearim, belonged to the Čą'kamekra. Beyond the eastern watershed of the Flores lay the land of the Hakąpó (=Gamella of Codó). Reduced by wars and epidemics, the Čą'kamekra retreated before the Neobrazilians into the extreme southern corner of their habitat; and when that, too, proved an untenable refuge, they united with the Rąmkõ'kamekra, sharing their territory on wholly equal terms.

The northern boundary of the Apą'nyekra and Rąmkõ'kamekra consisted of the wooded area of the Mearim, to which these steppe dwellers attached no importance, so that the Guajajára were able to settle there.

The Mearim divided the Čą'kamekra and Rąmkõ'kamekra on its right bank from the Krẽyé of Bacabal on the left. Originally no Timbira tribe simultaneously occupied both banks of the Tocantins; this was subsequently done by the Krahõ', but
421 only because of Neobrazilian pressure. Anyone may hunt, fish, gather, and make
423 a clearing at will within the tribal territory. A plot, so long as it is under cultivation, belongs to the family of the woman for whom the clearing was made. Wild fruit-trees are never privately owned unless they have been deliberately spared in clearing a plot. Fellow tribesmen never quarrel over the exploitation of the tribal area. The endless land disputes among Neobrazilians, often leading to murder or manslaughter, figure as a proof of their malevolence. Snethlage reports that two prominent Rąmkõ'kamekra of mature age belonging to complementary moieties had the
[114] Indian agent in Barra do Corda smooth out difficulties over a boundary transgression.[88] I cannot conceive either how such a dispute could have arisen or how the moieties could have been involved, hence I must assume some misunderstanding on this investigator's part.

422 An object belongs to its maker or winner or to the person for whom it was produced or won. For example, a wife not merely owns the utensils manufactured by herself, but also the objects—say, sleeping mats—made for her by her husband; further, the plot and house cleared and erected by the husband or his assistants. Children become owners of the toys made for them by parents and relatives as soon as the objects are handed to them. Proprietary claims of this sort are generally acknowledged to the fullest extent, the solitary exception being the encroachments of a wife's brothers on her husband's private possessions (see p. 125).

422 Except for houses and cultivated plots, private property is markedly unstable.
425 Chattels, even the most valuable of them, such as rifles, bush-knives, axes, iron
431 pots, and arara feathers frequently pass to new owners because of the fees often
437 obligatory on individuals as well as organizations. As shown elsewhere (p. 75), an exaggerated value is attached to tame wild pigs, hence the killing of these animals that regularly recurs during certain festivals involves indemnification of the families which reared them, thus accounting for circulation of considerable property. Another, though rare, occasion for the transfer of many goods is the ceremonial exchange of precentresses when peace is concluded. At the close of the pepyé the families of the new initiates give presents to the two girl associates; in 1933 the elders expressed displeasure with the meagerness of the offerings, whereupon the first commandant of the pepyé stepped up, unbuckled his unused bush-

[88] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 168.

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

X796 535 527 575

3. espóra (Portuguese espora, spur) lacks, at least nowadays, any aboriginal designation. Its eyes are rowel-shaped, its ears circular (fig. 15, *d*).

4. tephothõ' has horizontally extended hourglasses for eyes and occasionally a forehead stripe (fig. 15, *e*). The name designates an herb having double leaves resembling in shape the eyes of the mask.

5. hąkã (= giboya, boa constrictor) bears two bands meeting at a right angle above the middle of the forehead; the bands have a black background with red diamonds. A narrow black stroke runs parallel to and outside each band (fig. 15, *f*). On each side of the back this costume has a stripe of black rings linked together chain fashion.

6. tõhokpó (= flatly and broadly painted eyes) has black rectangular eyes, the oblongs resting on their narrow sides. Beside each eye there is a vertical stroke, sometimes connected with the rectangle by an intervening space dyed red (fig. 15, *g*). The back usually has on each side two fish, one above the other, but sometimes a kind of cross instead.

7. ihõkẽ'n (= his bad grass) belongs to the kõkrį't society's clown. It is of poor material, moreover it is elaborated and patched together with studied negligence. There is no definite decoration, the eyes being painted in any desirable way so as to appear crooked and unsymmetrical. The horns are made of crooked and ill-fashioned sticks; sometimes one or even both may be lacking (fig. 15, *h*).

8. mekra tamtũa to'hõk, the two girl associates' type, has two black double lines forming a right angle in the center above the forehead (fig. 15, *i*).

The three alien types are:

9. kenpéykahą'k. Each eye consists of two red triangles beside each other, the inner being larger than the outer (fig. 15, *j*).

10. tephothõkahą'k. Its eyes are red, vertical, spindle-shaped forms; sometimes there are on each side three spindle-shaped strokes (fig. 15, *k*).

11. tohokpõkahą'k. Has for each eye a minute red triangle standing on its apex (fig. 15, *l*).

The membership always includes several boys having correspondingly smaller masks of the same types.

No other types or variants occur among the Rąmkõ'kamekra. Not only did I personally see no others, but I independently ascertained the facts by asking the kõkrį't to make pencil drawings for me of the forms extant. One man, Keča, thereupon drew the eight types shown in figure 15, including the krãtí variant of kenpéy. The three alien types were not recognized as officially acceptable.

535 114 527 575

This result requires emphasis because the account by Snethlage, who visited the Rąmkõ'kamekra in 1924 during a Mummers' festival and was the first investigator to describe their costumes, in part sharply deviates from what I have seen and collected.[86] My observations support the following comments.

Concerning his figure 22,[87] the horns are proportionately much longer and their upper ends are not cut off straight but taper to a sharp point. The pendent fringe ought to be much longer to be in proportion and should be open in the middle below the slit.

Snethlage refers to painted eyes of square or spiral form ("auf der quadratisch oder spiralig die Augen aufgemalt waren"). As the sketches and my collections demonstrate, not a single mask has square or spiral eyes, though those of the tõhokpó are rectangular and those of the tõkaivéu are formed of concentric circles. The spiral simply does not occur in Rąmkõ'kamekra decorative art. When I painted a mask with spiral-like eyes for the Indians, they declared that they were unfamiliar with any such specimen.

Snethlage speaks of a transverse slit for the mouth ("der Mund häufig durch einen Querspalt angedeutet"). I have never seen a transverse slit on a mask; and when I asked the Indians to make me a mask with such a one, they evidently regarded this as a joke. Snethlage's figure 22 shows only a vertical slit, and a little

[86] Snethlage, Meine Reise, 465, 466; Nordostbras. Ind., 181, 187.
[87] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 181.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

farther on he remarks, "Die Sprache erschöpfte sich in gewissen Bewegungen des *Nasen*spaltes." Why not "*Mund*spaltes" if such a one were present?

He assumes erroneously, and not on the basis of any statement of mine, that the costumes I collected were derived from a later age-class festival ("einem späteren Altersklassenfest"). As a matter of fact, kõkrį't costumes are in no way connected with age classes.

"Andere Masken hatten statt der beiden seitlichen Holzstangen, den sogenannten Hörnern, einen blitzartig gebogenen Draht in der Mitte." The author orally reaffirmed this observation in answer to a query of mine. The Indians themselves told me they were not familiar with any such appendage. I can merely suppose by way of explanation that the clown of the organization, whose mask lacks horns, jocularly substituted the wire.

Snethlage explains the differences between his observations and my own by assuming an actual change in the form of costume during the interval between our respective visits (1924, 1929). This seems highly improbable. In the first place, even if aboriginal conservatism had lightly permitted such alterations, the fact remains that during the period in question there had been no Mummers' festival at which a modification could have been decreed. Secondly, the Mummers vehemently declared that the costumes were always made in the same manner, in consonance with ancient tradition.

The illustration in Snethlage's paper (Nordostbras. Ind.) suggests to me that at least in part the author put his observations in writing when he was no longer able to observe the masquerading directly; in consequence, I assume that he was probably no longer able to recall all the details with precision.

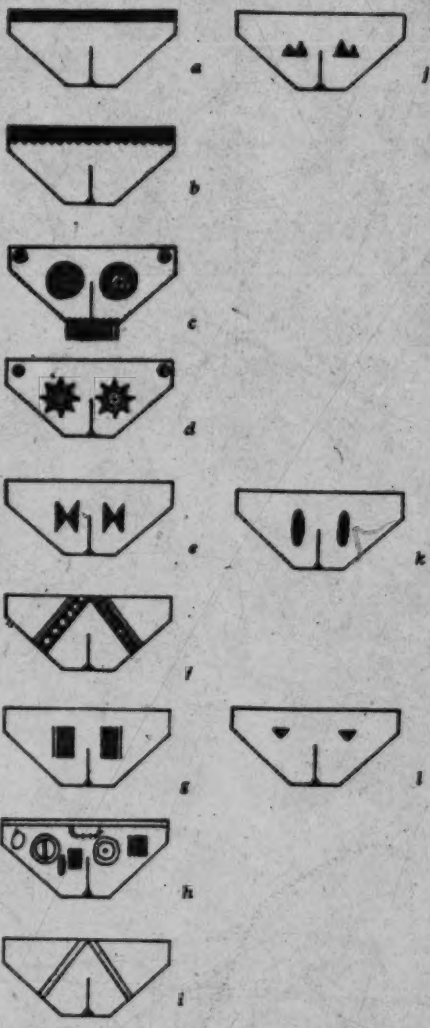


Fig. 15. Decoration of masquerade costumes. *a–i*, Rąmkõ'kamakra: kenpéy, krãti, tõkaivẽu, espóra, tęphothõ', hąká, tehokpó, ihõkẽ'n = clown, mekratamtúa tohók. *j–l*, foreign: kenpey-kahák; tęphothõ-kahák, tohokpó-kahák.

I have seen kõkrį't outfits also among the Pụkóbye, the Krahõ', and the Timbira of Araparytúa.

On entering the Pụkóbye (Gaviões) village of São Feliz (upper Pindaré) in

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

V. RELIGION AND MAGIC

Earlier Sources

In the older literature there are no usable statements about Eastern Timbira religion. According to Ribeiro,

> Nao se lhes conoce a mais pequena demonstração de culto ou religião qualquer que ella seja, pois é sua razão a esse respeito submergida no chaos da ignorancia, sendo lhes bem indifferente que o sol nasça ou que se esconda.
>
> (Not the slightest manifestation of cult or religion is known from them, rather is their reason buried in ignorance in this regard, and they are quite indifferent whether the sun rises or is concealed).[288]

As will appear, things are not quite so bad as all that.

About Põrekamekra religion an interpreter told Pohl the following:[289]

> Die Indianer erkennen ein höchstes Wesen, welches sie mit dem Namen Tur-pi bezeichnen, es wohnt im Himmel, sendet Regen, Sonnenschein und Gewitter und verschafft ihnen Nahrung. Sie glauben an Fortdauer nach dem Tode, ewigen Lohn und ewige Strafe.

I cannot confirm these statements concerning a Supreme Being and am unable to explain the term Turpi. Pohl, with whom Snethlage agrees, ascribes these doctrines to previous instruction by Jesuits from Pará.

Snethlage regards as certain a lunar and astral cult, which he infers from a nocturnal dance he attended.[290] This was performed in the plaza by men in a circle stepping first with one leg, then the other, while turning their bodies, gazing toward the sky, and repeatedly uttering the word katšere (star). I have vainly tried to get data from the Indians concerning this dance, which I never witnessed. Thus, I asked all the precentors for texts of songs containing the word in question or otherwise dealing with stars. The solitary chant which they cited again and again is that concerned with Halley's comet (p. 190). This, however, is sung in quite a different setting and exclusively during a pepyé celebration. Snethlage's visit, however, coincided with a Mummers' festival, such as I was also able to attend in 1935, but without noting anything even remotely suggested by his account. The procedure he saw then must have been of a quite special and isolated character. As a matter of fact, hardly any religious significance attaches to the stars among these Canella, whereas the moon does play a part, though by no means the principal one. Concerning animistic beliefs Snethlage reports nothing.

Fróes Abreu conceived the precentor of the nocturnal dances as a medicine-man and the performances themselves as prayers (rezas in Indian parlance). He heard of a celestial god who was the father of all humanity, but was unable to get further information. Nor was Pompeu Sobrinho able to extract relevant data. He erroneously regards the syllable vrị in pụduvrị' (būt'êra in his orthography), moon, as a feminine suffix, whence he conjectures that a male sun and a female moon are connected with Canella religion. Finally, Abbé Étienne Ignace declares: "Ce sont des catholiques ayant conservé des practiques superstitieuses."[291]

Celestial Bodies

Compared with, say, the Guarani, the Rąmkõ'kamekra certainly have very little religion, being in this respect inferior also to the Šerénte and even to the Apinayé.

[288] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 9.
[289] Pohl, Reise, 2:209.
[290] Nordbostbras. Ind., 184.
[291] Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 180 f.; Sobrinho, Merrima, 14; Ignace, Les Capiekrans, 478.

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

888 ing to Ribeiro[777] the starving Rąmkõ'kamekra, succumbing to the smallpox and pursued by Neobrazilians, killed their sick:

Qualquer doe que enfermava durante suas marches, deitava-se no chão pondo por cabeceira uma pedra, e punham-lhe então os amigos e parentes outra grande pedra na cabeça com a qual lh'a esmagavam, e o deixavam alli descansando e livre das suas dores: este fim teve o major Tempé com todos os outros gentios seus mais notaveis collegas.

[134] (Whoever fell sick on their marches lay down on the ground with a rock for a headrest, then his friends or relatives took another large rock with which they smashed his head, letting him rest there free from his pains. This was the end of Chief Tempé [error? cf. p. 32 f.] and all the other Indians who were his foremost companions.)

However, this took place in a situation more desperate than any known to the tribe before or after, hence does not prove the customary killing of the sick. Another case cited by Ribeiro[778] relates to the Gamella of Vianna, hence is irrelevant.

888 Snethlage quotes a tale heard "von einem durchaus zuverlässigen Farmbesitzer" to the effect that one day a Rąmkõ'kamekra left his work to go home and kill his 114 father, who was too weak to remain alive. The story seems hardly credible; even if the intention was a reality, the Indian is not likely to have ostentatiously informed his Neobrazilian employer of it.[779]

Snake Shamans

755 Kwųikõ', a man of about forty-five, has the reputation of having special relations with snakes, communicating with them clandestinely, and owning remedies against 756 snake bites. He is generally regarded with fear and mistrust. People may not seek his friendship, but at least they try not to incur his enmity; the majority, I believe, would be afraid to deny him a request lest he take it in ill part and send a poisonous snake to meet them. Kwųikõ' rather unscrupulously exploits this attitude, imposing on his tribesmen all sorts of transactions with him that always result to their disadvantage. Though for a long time aware that he neither keeps a promise nor sticks to a bargain, they lack the courage to refuse doing business with him.

123 He applied the same technique to me on learning of my interest in his knowledge, 752 offering me in exchange an object he did not possess, demanding prior payment, which he received, and then regarding the matter as settled. When I demanded the return of the payment, he obeyed without protest, smiling his peculiar sweetish smile. Kentapí, who had urgently tried to dissuade me, was most upset by my procedure: Kwųikõ' was sure to take revenge; and when I said that was precisely what I should like to see, she added that if he failed he would take it out on her. Because of his sneaky conduct and unscrupulous mendacity I was unable to learn details as to his intercourse with the venomous snakes.

755 During my stay I saw him professionally active on only three occasions. The first time he called me to witness the act. A fortnight before my arrival a snake had bitten an Indian in the leg. He was seated on a racing log behind the house, with his leg extended. Kwųikõ' knelt before him and sucked out of the injured spot, which was still swollen, the "snake poison" still inside. A boy of about ten, the shaman's disciple, was standing beside him. After a while he rose, expectorated the "poison" into his hand, and put it into his pupil's mouth to be swallowed. The boy obviously had a horror of it and after several unsuccessful efforts he pushed the "poison" out of his mouth with his tongue. I forestalled the shaman by immedi-[123] ately removing it from his lips and at once recognized it as a bit of pink paper such as I was using to write on.

[777] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 60. [778] *Ibid.*, § 24. [779] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 186.

1z; Nimuendaju 5-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

754 682 ing his death. Several trustworthy men selected from the number of ever-present would-be executioners unexpectedly club the criminal down either in the plaza or from an ambush on the road. They immediately cut out his eyes or at least blindfold him to deprive the shadow of sight, sometimes they make cross-shaped gashes in the palms of his hands, and then he is interred in a pit without further ceremony. The killers paint themselves with charcoal and go into seclusion for a month.

[578] Suspicion of sorcery almost invariably falls on alien Indians resident in the village, very rarely on a tribesman. Because of this fact I never cease wondering at the temerity of natives who, despite their notoriously mistrustful nature, venture to marry outside their own group. In the exceptional cases a magician apparently charges a tribesman with the death not from jealousy, but rather from fear of being himself accused of sorcery. The Canella told me about a case where this was so obviously true that only the Indians' blind dread of sorcery prevented their recognition of the fact. The accuser in this instance achieved a double success: he got rid of a colleague who, unless forestalled, would probably have prepared the same fate for him; and through the "discovery" of the evil magic which the sorcerer was supposed to have buried in the plaza the accuser gained great esteem for his services.

754 828 In 1903—only a few years after the advent of the Čą'kamekra—a certain Kavų'i of that tribe who had married a Canella woman was killed for sorcery, after having allegedly in the course of a trifling dispute threatened his wife with evil magic. In great alarm she told her relatives; some time after she fell ill and died. Thereupon her relatives on the occasion of a log race killed her husband without ado, without consulting the council or the then chief, Delfino Kôkaipó. Since the latter disapproved of the execution, he obliged the killers to pay wergild to the slain man's kin.

In 1927 the Apą'nyekra suspected Vacca Preta, a Rąmkõ'kamekra living among them, of evil magic, killed him with a gun, and cremated the corpse. Thereupon the three Rąmkõ'kamekra chiefs, accompanied by a number of tribesmen, marched to the Apą'nyekra village and forced the people to surrender the killer, but finally, after some persuasion, they were satisfied by an indemnity.

In the former days, however, such occurrences might evoke prolonged intertribal feuds. A Kre'pų'mkateye whom I knew was a little boy when his uncle was killed by the sorcery of another Timbira tribe, whose name was kept from me in view of my intimate contacts with most of the groups. The boy was trained to regard vengeance as an obligation, which he had discharged several years before my visit, killing two members of the guilty tribe (Krẽyé of Cajuapára) with the assistance of several of his tribesmen. This happened at least fifteen years after the uncle's death.

I have never seen the Rąmkõ'kamekra so incensed against Brazilian law as when I explained that the Government would not tolerate the execution of sorcerers. "What is to become of us then?" asked chief Kukrãčą'; the evil magicians will kill us all, by and by."

Missions

797 114 *Catholic.*—Notwithstanding Pohl's and Snethlage's statements, I can find not the slightest historical or ethnographic proof of the influence of Jesuit missionaries on any Timbira tribe. Demonstrably the Jesuits have never maintained a mission among any of them; and it is hardly to be supposed that they would have achieved as transients what the Capuchins failed to accomplish in the course of decades.

The first missionary who demonstrably concerned himself with the Eastern Timbira is the ecclesiastic mentioned by Ribeiro:

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

797 114 Auxiliando a capitania a conversão do gentilismo, que circumvizinhava a referida povoação de São Pedro de Alcantara a qual ainda então pertencia aos seus limites, não se descuidou de nomear e pagar para os ditos fins a um capellão ou vigario; porem que faria Sua Reverendissima neste caso! Excitou por dois ou tres annos todas as expedições que pôde sobre aquelles desgraçados para captival-os, e depois fugiu para o Pará em Junho de 1815, levando numa embarcação furtada a vender muitas destas ovelhas escravas que adquerira como assentado ser este o derradeiro modo de approveitar o seu rebanho. Não foi só este pio sacerdote que teve taes e ainda peores sentimentos; porque certo commandante de Indios que iam a pacificar-se, nos relatou que fora muitas vezes induzido pelo seu mesmo capellão para os envenenar, e livrarem se do trabalho de os doutrinar e soffrer.

(In order to promote the conversion of the pagans living near said settlement of São Pedro de Alcantara [now Carolina], then still within its boundaries, the Capitania [Goyaz] did not fail to appoint and pay a chaplain or vicar; what, however, did His Reverence do in these circumstances! For two or three years he fomented all raids possible against these unfortunates in order to capture them and finally, in June 1815, he fled to Pará, taking with him in a stolen vessel many of these enslaved sheep of his, which he had acquired as described, convinced that this was the proper way to use his flock. This pious cleric was not the only one to hold such opinions and even worse ones, for a certain commandant of Indians who were about to turn peaceable, told us that their own chaplain had often tried to persuade him to poison them in order to save himself the labor of instructing them.)[25]

797 Beginning in 1848, the Carmelite Brother Manoel Procopio, settled in Santa Thereza (= Imperatriz), tried for several years to convert the Krẽyé of Cajuapára and the Krĩkatí, but without success.

From 1848–1875 the Krahõ′ were under the influence of the Capuchin missionary Brother Rafael Tuggia, but the only influence was a considerable admixture with Negro blood, which that missionary is said to have favored. His description of the Krahõ′ betrays incapacity to understand the Indian character and is full of gross errors. He was of opinion that the Krahõ′ should be organized in a colony.

The Capuchin missionaries of Barra do Corda have never spent more than a few hours as transients among the Canella tribes, whose children they would baptize on such occasions, once in a while also marrying a couple. Between 1896 and 1901 they had three or four Rąmkõ′kamekra boys in their school in Barra do Corda; one of them is still living and shows no trace of their instruction. Pompeu Sobrinho erroneously reports that the Canella were once settled at the missions of Grajahú and Barra do Corda.[26] The Capuchins of the latter town were always concerned with the Guajajára, but their first attempt (1870) to organize a colony of them ended in 1875 with the eviction of the missionary. The second attempt (1896), based on a boarding school for the Indian children, led to a sanguinary uprising in which two hundred civilized people, including five monks and seven nuns, lost their lives.[27] Since then effort has been directed solely toward the civilized inhabitants, the Indian mission being completely abandoned.

In part the failure of the Capuchins was certainly due to the anticlerical propaganda of Neobrazilians, whose more or less shady relations with the Guajajára suffered because of the mission. However, the main reason is the missionaries' negativistic attitude, on principle, toward the Indian culture they confront. They feel that they have more important business than to study silly Indian superstitions and Indian customs.

Protestant.—Since 1924 English and Brazilian missionaries of the Heart of Amazonia Mission have been working in the interior of Maranhão; they, too, have concerned themselves mainly with the Guajajára. Unsupported by the Government, they proceeded more cautiously than the Capuchins, but they, too, were obliged to

[25] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 86.
[26] Merrime, 8.
[27] Monza, Massacre. Zani, Alto Brazile, 95–195.

/45/

114 [101] It is striking that the Canella Indians, like most of the other tribes of Maranhão, have hitherto been greatly neglected by the ethnological profession.

Despite the relatively convenient accessibility of their villages and the fairly slight difficulty of becoming acquainted with their more intimate tribal life in friendly association with them, they regrettably have not yet been investigated in detail by scientific travelers. /Map appears here./

114 101 Undoubtedly a special expedition which was concerned solely with the study of the Maranhão Indians, who are regarded as known and civilized and, with the exception of the Tupí horde of the Guajajára, belong entirely to the Gẽ group (1), could count

1. For traditional reasons we shall for the time being adhere to the term introduced by Martius, "Gês," the Portuguese form of the Indian word "Gẽ" (pronounced "g" like the French "j") So far as is known up to now, the word "Gẽ" is not in the vocabulary of any tribe of the group of peoples so named. According to R. Schuller's investigations, "gẽ" is supposed to be a pure Aruak /Arawak/ or Carib-Aruak word to correspond to the "hẽ" as in, say, the tribal name of the Curua-hẽ, visited in 1909 by Dr. Snethlage, or of the Karajá /Caraja/ horde of the Java-hẽ, who are called "Šavaje" according to Fritz Krause's notes, "Javaje" according to mine ("j" as in French). Instead of "Gês," it would probably be better to choose the group designation likewise proposed by Martius and given by the native word "Crans" (in Indian pronunciation: krã).

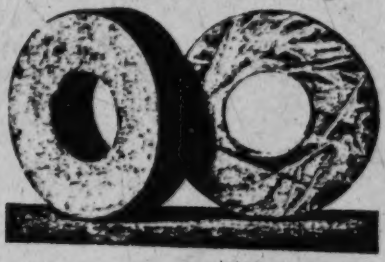
on valuable ethnological gains. It seems to be a common feature

/46 cont./

177 [323] [273] Like these representatives of the Gẽ group, the Canella Indians, in contact with the Whites for over a century, have adopted the art of pottery. Like the former, the production of fermented beverages, which in general they both detest, is unknown to them.

It is not lack of ability which prevents the Canella Indians, and with them all their tribal relatives, from acquiring the cultural achievements of higher nations, but rather their innate indolence, rooted in them for thousands of years, which, however, is perhaps only a conscious defense against all foreign influences.

[301] ←



Pierced ear-disks (kuí). 1/2 natural size.

● 114 175 [113] The scanty data which Martius (1) gives us about the once

1. Martius, Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachkunde Amerikas, zumal Brasiliens /Contributions to the Ethnography and Linguistics of America, especially of Brazil/, Vol. I, 1867, p. 285.

numerous Canella Indians and their subhordes were taken from the descriptions, generally excellent, but not always quite clear, of Major Francisco de Paula Ribeiro (2), who, starting out from São Luís,

[113]

2. a. "Roteiro da viagem, que fez o Capitão Francisco de Paula Ribeiro ás fronteiras da Capitania de Maranhão e da de Goyaz no anno de 1815 em serviço de S. M. Fidelissima /Logbook of the

/46 cont./

14
175
113

2. (cont.)
voyage made by Capt. Francisco de Paula Ribeiro to the frontiers of the provinces of Maranhão and Goiás in the year 1815 in the service of S. M. Fidelissima/." In Revista trimensal de historia e geographia, Rio de Janeiro. Second series, first volume; No. 9...1st quarter of 1848, pp. 39-43. b. Memoria sobre as nações gentias que presentemente habitam o continente do Maranhão /Memoir on the pagan peoples who at present inhabit the land of Maranhão/." Written in the year 1819 by Major Francisco de Paula Ribeiro. In Rev. Trimens., third volume, 1841; reprinted 1860; pp. 184-197; 297-322.

114 crossed all of Maranhão in the years 1815 and 1816 to settle border
175 questions in the service of the Portuguese crown and on his journey from Caxias via Pastos Bons to São Pedro de Alcantara (3) came in

[113]

3. Corresponds to the Carolina of today, somewhat under 7°15' southern latitude, located on a sharp bend of the Tocantins toward the east. On the Stieler map of South America and also on the Atlas do Brazil published in 1909 by Barão Homem do Mello and Dr. Francisco Homem do Mello, on the page "Estado de Goyaz," there is mistakenly marked on the orogr. right Tocantins bank, south of the mouth of the Ribeirão do João Ayres, a place named S. Pedro de Alcantara, of whose nonexistence I was personally able to convince myself.

contact with the tribe mentioned.

/46 cont./

● 114 Père Etienne Ignace (4), too, for lack of better and more

[113] 4. Père Etienne Ignace, "Les Capiekrans /The Capiecran/," 1910; in Anthropos, Vol V, pp. 477 ff.

modern sources, was forced to depend on the testimony of this Brazilian traveler for many things in his work "Les Capiekrans" (a Canella subhorde), since from personal observation he knew the Canella very little or not at all.

101 What do we really mean by Canella Indians?

[131] In the wider sense they probably corresponded in their full extent to the dense population of related Indians of the Gẽ people that was designated by Ribeiro as Timbira, who at the time of the occupation of Maranhão by the Europeans were in uncontested possession of the country and probably a part of the coast.

101 Whereas the hordes living in the north, which it was sought
6/9 in vain to establish in villages in S. João de Penalva in the vicinity
30/ of Viana on the lower course of the Pindaré River, near Codó and
[171] Caxias on the Itapecuru River, wore as a characteristic feature
[304] enormous lip disks carved out of the soft wood of the gamelleira /Moraceae/, for which reason they were then generally called Gamellas, the related nomadic tribes living to the south of them in the center of the state were /47/ distinguished by the no less huge wooden disks fastened as adornment in the slit ear-lobes.

101 Ribeiro calls the latter tribes, together with the inhabitants of the interior, "Canellas finas" (=Indians with thin shinbones), among whom a distinction was again made between Korumekran and Kapiekran.

101 According to the account of Etienne Ignace, the Canella
36/ Kapiekrans are supposed to be divided between two centers, Grajaú
[114] and Barra do Corda, and to have four villages. At no time in
[131] Barra do Corda did I hear either the name "Capiekrans" or "Corumekrans" /illustration appears here/ as tribal designations and only ascertained this much, that the "Canella" were settled in a half-civilized state in four actually existing villages between

/47 cont./

Papagayo and Morro Vermelho, about 100-180 kilometers southwest of Barra do Corda.

During my journey to the Tocantins-Araguaia, which in the late summer of 1908 took me through central Maranhão in the vicinity of their area, I utilized the opportunity to make a fleeting visit to the Canella village of Suridade (1), which is located about

1. Modified form of the Portuguese word "soledade" = solitude.

32 leguas (2) from Barra do Corda, between

2. About 180 kilometers.

the moradas (3) Buritĭ dos Cavallos and

3. By "morada" is meant a settlement of one or usually several farms.

Casimba, half a day's journey away from the caravan route.

A short account of my stay with the

Canella Indian with neck cord, hip band of palm-leaf strips, wrist band of bast, and huge ear-disks (kui).

inhabitants of Suridade may be given space here.

A good hour's journey behind Buritĭ dos Cavallos a scarcely noticeable, narrow Indian path branches off from the main road into the forest in a southerly direction. I took it around noon on the twelfth of October, accompanied only by one servant, after having sent my troop on ahead to Casimba.

/47 cont./

123 Scarcely 15 minutes later there appeared before us from
[137] out of the dry underbrush of the forest, which shortly afterward
[142] changed into densely overgrown tableland, a copper-brown,
[291] frighteningly ugly, already old Canella Indian, completely naked,
[302] with long deep-black hair flowing down over his shoulders and
[304] back (4), his ear lobes slit far apart, and holding a bow and arrows
[411] in his hands.

4. The hair style of the Canella Indians corresponds exactly to that of the Pure-came-Crans /Porecamecra/, according to the description by Martius. See Ethnographie I, 287. "The Pure-came-crans wear their hair hanging down stiffly from the crown of the head to the ears and cut it here, following the curvature of the head in such a way that a furrow is formed, under which they let it grow again and fall down to the shoulders." The hair skullcap is actually the tribal badge of the Canella, and thus the supposition that the Canella of Suridade might be a remnant of the Pure-came-Crans visited by Pohl is not unjustified.

302 171

302 619 ● 114

in his hands.

123 576 [171] The usual Brazilian greeting formulas, which were quite familiar to the old man:

"Como passou compadre /How are you, Friend/?"

"Muito obrigado. E como vae o Senhor /Very well, thank you. And how are you, Sir/?"

"Bem /Fine/." Laconically it continues. -- The Canella: "Do you have any tobacco?"

Answer: "No. -- We are going to your village." -- "I shall go with you."

[302] [411] Shortly afterward we met five more comrades of grotesque appearance, painted with urucú red and genipa juice, almost all armed with guns. -- Another greeting scene.

/51/

415 No. 3. Container (marímba) made out of the fruit shell
[824] of a Crescentia species (calabash tree). It is used for storing ornament feathers. (Fig. 1, /see p. 13/, 3.)

534 No. 4. Dance rattle (maraká) It consists essentially of
824] a fruit shell of a Crescentia species, pierced in the long axis by a carved wooden handle and containing some rattle-pebbles. (Fig. 2 /see p. 15/, 5.)

No. 5. Musical instrument (1) (patuwe), a kind of signal

[171]

[113]

1. A specimen corresponding precisely to this instrument is in the Ehrenreich Karajá Collection in the Berlin Kgl. Museum für Volkerkunde. Cf. Veröffentlichungen des Kgl. Museums für Völkerkunde, Vol. II, Nos. 1/2: Ehrenreich, "Beiträge zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens /Contributions to the Ethnography of Brazil/," p. 24.

horn, consisting of a calabash fruit 54 centimeters long, hollowed out and furnished with openings on both sides, in one of which a taquara /bamboo/ tube with a blowhole on the side in the manner of our transverse flutes has been inserted as a mouthpiece by means of hard wax. (Fig. 2, 9.)

[237] No. 6. Signal horn (hãhĩ). Into the taquara-tube mouth-
[386] piece, which also shows a blowhole on the side, an ox horn is in-
[531] serted by means of beeswax and cotton lacing which ends in red-dyed fringes about 15 centimeters long. The mouthpiece is artistically enclosed by a black-yellow plaited decoration. (Fig.
301 2, 2.) /Fig. 2 appears here./
824 No. 7. Arm rings rolled out of palm-leaf strips (batsé), to be worn on the upper arm. (Fig. 2, 12.)

386 No. 8. Dye sample (pú), urucú kneaded together with clay.
302 Used for painting the face and body. (Fig. 2, 6.)

535 No. 9. Swinging sticks (klõwa) with vulture-feather deco-
[237] ration at one end. According to the interpretation of the chief,
[114] which seems really rather doubtful to me, they are supposed to

/51 cont./
301 pierced and systematically enlarged holes of the ear lobes (3).
304 (Fig. 2, /see p. 15/, 15.)

[171] 3. Compare with this the similarly shaped ear-rolls observed by Karl von den Steinen among the Suyá of the Xingu, made like a tapeline out of the wide leaf-strips of the bacaba palm, with a diameter of 7 centimeters, leaf width 1.5 centimeters. See Durch Zentralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, Leipzig, 1886, p. 207.

301 No. 14. Ear ornament, as before, but of somewhat smaller dimensions. With a circumference of 21 centimeters, the thickness of the ring-shaped ear-disks is 2 centimeters, their diameter 6 centimeters. (Fig. 2 /see p. 15/, 1.)

[286] No. 15. Woven upper-arm ornament (ipaĉẽ) with woolen tassels. (Fig. 2 /see p. 15/, 6.)

482 No. 16. Carrying baskets with a square base and a forehead-
285 tumpline plaited out of buriti fibers (4). (Fig. 2 /see p. 15/, 13.)

[171] 4. An exactly analogous basket model is found among the Kayapó of the Araguaia.

126 /52/The following brief word-list was recorded directly from
174 the Canella Indians and permits one, by comparing it with the
197 corresponding words of Ehrenreich's Gradahõ vocabulary (1) and of
[114]

[113] 1. See Ehrenreich, Materialen zur Sprachenkunde /Linguistic Materials/.

the Mẽkubengokrã word-list recorded by me, to recognize a very close linguistic relationship with the Kayapó tribes of the Araguaia, whose separation from the main body of the Gẽ nation on the other side of the Tocantins may well have taken place in not too far distant times.